

MSA SC 5881-1-347

Maryland Historical Magazine



Published Quarterly by the Museum and Library of Maryland History
The Maryland Historical Society
Summer 1992

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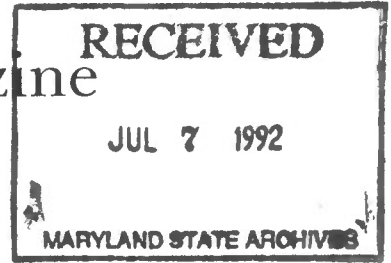
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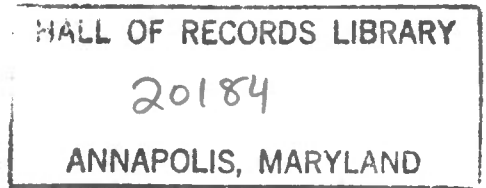


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Editor's Corner: Special issues so often address serious concerns—like the experience of free blacks in early Maryland or the Progressive effort to reshape Baltimore—that one welcomes the exception. Baseball in Maryland supplies one in this number of the magazine. We hope that even readers who have never enjoyed a warm afternoon at a ball park will find these sports (and social-history) vignettes entertaining. We thank guest editor John Wiseman for all his work in organizing the teams of writers and each of them for playing merely for love of the game.

Cover Design: A montage of baseball collectibles from the collections of Ted Patterson and Jim Bready. Special thanks to both.

ISSN-0025-4258

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Introduction

JOHN B. WISEMAN

Few baseball enthusiasts who earn their living teaching history have an opportunity to direct and edit a special journal issue on their life's most enduring passion. My assignment was therefore a labor of love. Similarly the five major contributors to this unique *Maryland Historical Magazine* number have labored for a love of their life in this selected history of baseball in Maryland.

The author of the first article, James Bready, has combined his great enthusiasm for the game with a lifetime of writing about it for the *Baltimore Sun*. He has also written a notable book on the Baltimore Orioles, appropriately called *The Home Team*. Francis Meyers, sequentially the second contributor, is a school principal who began the exploration of his subject in a graduate history course at Frostburg State University many years ago. He now lives just a summer's walk away from the burial site of the figure who frames his essay, Lefty Grove. Barry Sparks's contribution has a similar history. He chose the Eastern Shore League as a subject for an undergraduate term paper at Salisbury State University about the same time that Meyers wrote the first draft of his article. Sparks's continuing research on his topic over the intervening years led to this completed essay.

As if to insist that baseball warrants a broad historical approach, Robert Leffler completed his research on black baseball in Baltimore as a graduate student at Morgan State University at a time when racial change in the city had helped make the Free State truly free. His master's thesis on Baltimore's last great black professional baseball team, the Elite Giants, documented and described the importance of racial factors in the national pastime. Leffler's published segment from his thesis now finds a larger audience, while James Miller's addition to his recent book on the modern Baltimore Orioles demonstrates both his enduring commitment to baseball history as well as to the significant role that financial considerations and new parks have played in the game's history. Miller earlier underscored these issues in his book on the subject, *The Baseball Business: Pursuing Profits and Pennants in Baltimore*. In this issue of the magazine, Miller, a professional historian for the U.S. Department of State, combines these themes in his timely article on the forces and people who created Oriole Park at Camden Yards.

John B. Wiseman, professor of history at Frostburg State University, is the co-author of *Allegany County: A History*, co-editor of *Maryland: Unity in Diversity*, a regional editor of the *Maryland Historical Magazine*, and guest editor of this volume. He is grateful to the faculty development committee at Frostburg State for financial assistance that made this project possible.

Pioneer writings on the game in its earliest organized stage, and the parks in which it unfolded, command a special preservation project. That is why the *Maryland Historical Magazine* has chosen to reprint an excerpt from William Ridgely Griffith's pioneering account of Baltimore baseball at its beginnings almost one hundred and fifty years ago. Nothing illustrates the lasting cultural legacy of the game and the public attention it both stirs and demands more than this unrivaled combination of baseball reporting and visual etching of Baltimore's first baseball park, now lying under Druid Hill Park Reservoir. The crumbling, fragile paper on which Griffith's original account rests requires urgent technical preservation of its own before time disintegrates it more. Surely, other priceless documents of the sport that has mirrored our national life for so long require a systematic preservation program. We hope it will materialize, thus providing a caveat to this volume.

The articles themselves, we hope, will provoke more investigation of themes that run throughout them. One consistent thread is that young Americans who grew up playing the game on the nearest field, or park, from the 1850s to the end of the twentieth century acquired a lasting enthusiasm for the sport. Most of them failed to play professional ball, relatively few made it to the majors, and even fewer became "greats." They demonstrated their enduring love of the game by turning up at baseball parks as fans. Often participatory, and frequently rowdy in the early days, these fans kept coming to the countless enclosed dream fields on the evolving public landscape of Maryland. Sometimes their very demand for organized play killed their hopes—as the proliferation of organized professional and amateur baseball that derived from the clamor was more than the fans' fanaticism could practically sustain. Minor leagues therefore left a checkered history while the demand for hometown teams, featuring local heroes, another theme in this volume, also lacked continuity. Nevertheless, new stadiums, sometimes themselves located at historic sites such as the terminus of the Chesapeake and Ohio Canal in Cumberland, or more recently at the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad yards in Baltimore, have consistently sprung up. In the latter case, to add a poetic theme, many fans wanted the new Baltimore stadium named after their native son, Babe, whose father operated a saloon beneath the new park's outfield.

Millions of Maryland parents have taught their kids how to play the game on family lawns, cow fields, and country and city sandlots since the Ruths and the Groves turned their restless sons loose on playing fields. Maybe in the coming century our daughters will be performing on major league fields too, if the game continues to mirror our national life.

For the moment, however, to steal Jim Bready's succinct title in the opening article, it's time to "play ball" as readers.

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Official scorecard of the Baltimore Base Ball Club for the 1896 championship season featured John McGraw in the center vignette and advertisements for local breweries and distilleries. (Babe Ruth Museum.)

Play Ball!

The Legacy of Nineteenth-Century Baltimore Baseball

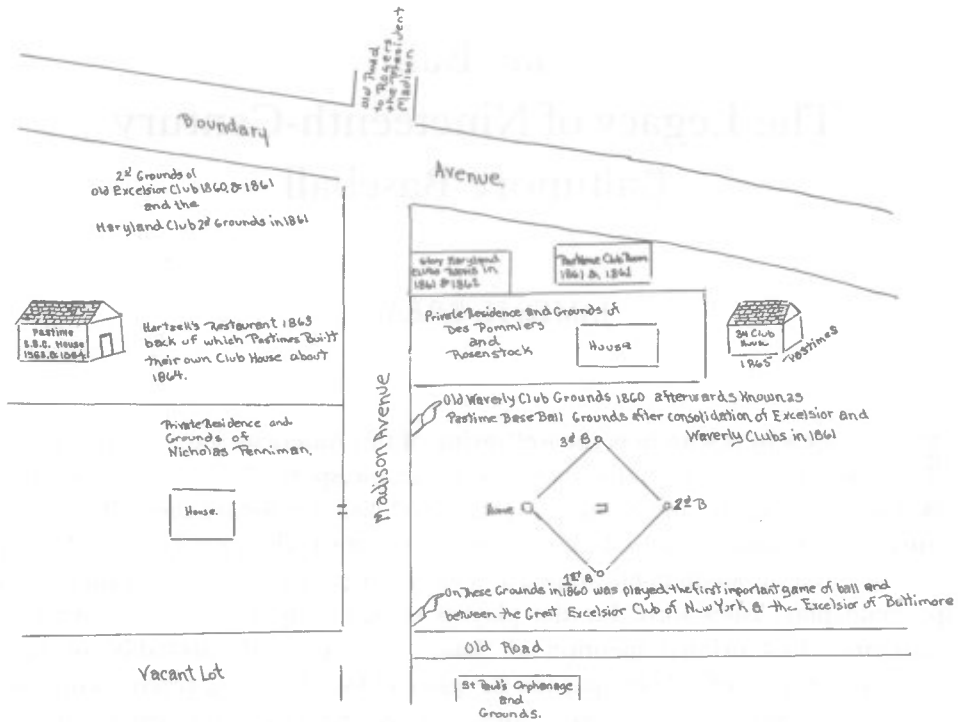
JAMES H. BREADY

In the view of researchers the wellspring of this American game, baseball, is a double one. The earlier source was the simple sport of hitting a thrown ball with a swung bat and running a prescribed distance before the ball could be returned—a pastime known to the Aztecs, the British who called it rounders or stool ball, and the soldiers encamped at Valley Forge. Any number, from two on up, could play; rules were for the players to agree upon.¹ The discovery of Baltimore's first printed mention of "base" or "base ball" probably awaits a line-by-line reader of old newspapers: the place to look is among reported injuries or court hearings for blue-law violations.² Across the nation, the playing of such games, in streets and schoolyards and on empty lots, went on alike in the city and out in the countryside—anywhere. Firstness is a foolish claim.

The second source was the conscious creation of lasting rules for a bat-and-ball game played on a defined field over a fixed span of innings by a set number of players who thought of themselves as a club or team. This collective activity, reflecting an urban setting and the leisure a certain class could enjoy, began in East Coast cities and with an imported game, cricket. But by the 1840s forms of club baseball were developing in Massachusetts, Greater Philadelphia, and especially New York City. In the 1850s cricket lost out, what with its protracted playing time and spectator tedium; so, too, did the non-New York versions of baseball in which fielder put out base runner by hitting or "soaking" him with a thrown ball.

The first young Manhattan office workers to organize as a baseball team were probably the New Yorks, playing in Murray Hill. Credit, however, commonly goes to a group who called themselves the Knickerbockers, who dressed uniformly and who, in 1845, were first into print with a set of playing rules. Because lower Manhattan was already built up, the Knickerbockers took the ferry to Hoboken, New Jersey, and the Elysian Fields, a commercial picnic grove. The Knickerbockers mostly played baseball among themselves; other Manhattan clubs, renting the same grounds, played one another and teams in that rival city across the river, Brooklyn. In 1857 sixty or more Greater New York clubs organized themselves

Jim Bready's many fans will be happy to learn that he is working on a revised edition of *The Home Team* for the Johns Hopkins University Press.



The Pastime Baseball Club House and Diamond, at Madison and North Avenues, c. 1861–1864. Drawing from memory by William R. Griffith in *The Early History of Amateur Base Ball in the State of Maryland*, 1897. (Enoch Pratt Free Library.)

into a National Association of Base Ball Players; by 1861 the foremost NABBP team was the Brooklyn Excelsiors.

Baltimoreans fielded their own club in the early NABBP. In 1858 George F. Beam, a young wholesale grocer who had New York business connections and who knew Joseph B. Leggett, was invited to watch a baseball game in which Leggett was captain and catcher of the Brooklyn Excelsiors. Beam was converted on the spot. He persuaded an Excelsior, H. D. Polhemus, to journey to Baltimore and instruct his friends. Proudly, they called themselves the Baltimore Excelsiors. Their playing field was an area in Druid Hill Park known as Flat Rock; today a reservoir lies overtop. By 1859 the Excelsiors had moved to a site not far away, “near the terminus of the (horse-drawn) Madison Avenue railway.” This vacant land lay among private residences on the east side of Madison, north of the old St. Paul’s Episcopal Orphanage and half a block below Northern Boundary (now North) Avenue. “The members of the club appear in a neat and tasteful uniform,” the *Baltimore American and Commercial Advertiser* commented; “the club [members] have regular games on every Wednesday and Saturday evenings.”³ On 11 July 1860 the Excelsiors decided “the relative ability and skillfulness of the Benedicts

and the Bachelors,” and the Benedicts “carried the game by such fearful odds that we forbear to publish the result.”⁴

The Excelsiors were also alert to the world outside. Their secretary and shortstop, Hervey Shriver, was elected vice president of the NABBP. On 6 June 1860 Beam’s team was in Washington, on the White Lot “south of the President’s House” (now the Ellipse), playing the champion local team, the Potomacs. That encounter may have been the first of all intercity baseball games.⁵ What with a thirteen-run sixth inning, the Excelsiors excelled indeed, 40 to 24. But their exhilaration was brief. On 22 September Brooklyn’s Excelsiors arrived in Baltimore while making baseball’s first intercity tour. Other Baltimore clubs lent reinforcements. To no avail: the visiting Excelsiors gave their friends yet another lesson—51 runs to 6. Brooklyn’s lineup included James Creighton, baseball’s first superstar. In the game with Baltimore, as thousands watched, he started baseball’s first triple play.⁶ That evening the home team treated the visitors to a hotel banquet downtown, entertainment on a par with what they themselves had been shown in Washington.

In September 1861 the Association of Base Ball Clubs of Baltimore formed. Its thirty-eight members ranged from Alpha to Zephyr, by way of Deluge, Freethinking and Quicksteps.⁷ By then Washington was traveling to Baltimore, but the outcome was the same: Maryland 17, National 10. Rightfielder for the National nine was a government clerk from Laurel, Arthur Pue Gorman, who in later life was to be a four-term United States senator.

For a dozen years the Madison Avenue Grounds was the state’s baseball capital. A rendering of the ballpark itself—with small “stand of seats,” uneven bleachers and fence, separate men’s and women’s entrances, a flagpole—is one of the many high spots in E. Sachse’s immense 1869 *Bird’s Eye View of the City of Baltimore*. It shows the developed ballpark, but not until 1866 did the park have a fence (and fifteen-cent admissions fee). William Ridgely Griffith, an early player, recalled afterward that the site was originally the Waverley Club Grounds; in 1861, Excelsior and Waverley merged, forming the Pastime Base Ball Club.⁸ Pastime shared the use of Madison Avenue Grounds with its main Baltimore rival, the Maryland Base Ball Club, founded in 1860. Two generalizations emerge. Locally as nationally, these early clubs were sizable. Of Pastime’s fifty members, the young played the new game; their elders provided support, vocal and financial. Second, again and again in late-1800s Baltimore, where a major-league level ballpark occurs, that site was previously home to lower-level, even sandlot, baseball.

The Civil War called up many of the new game’s players, but also gave them time, whether in camp or in prison, to keep on playing. Back home the game continued. During every wartime summer Baltimore and Washington nines played intercity games. On Saturday, 4 July 1863, even as people strained for news from the great battle fifty-five miles away at Gettysburg, and even as they marked Independence Day, some Baltimoreans still had baseball in mind. They went to the Madison Avenue Grounds and watched a game between two nines chosen from the Pastime Club.⁹

With peace, baseball (it was spelled as two words until about 1890) resumed its spectacular growth.¹⁰ A Philadelphia team was in town, beating Pastime, in August 1865. In 1867 the champion New York Mutuals lost a big game to Pastime. In 1870 Chicago and then Cleveland teams arrived in town and thumped Pastime. By 1866 one George Gratton, leaving New York for Baltimore, had opened a Baseball Emporium on Baltimore Street, just west of today's Guilford Avenue.

By 1867 the NABBP had three hundred members and state associations were taking form. On 20 February, at Sanderson's Opera House in Baltimore, delegates from thirty-three clubs organized the Maryland State Base Ball Association. Nine were Baltimore clubs. Four were from Frederick. Cumberland and West River had two each. Other localities with teams included Hagerstown, Annapolis, Cecil, and Church Hill, Uniontown, Chesterfield, Milton, Sudlersville, Anne Arundel, Mount Washington, Westminster, and Millersville. For vividness of team name, who could match the Cecil Avalanche?¹¹ Throughout the later 1860s the state's two best teams were the Pastimes and the Marylands, a rivalry akin to that in Washington between the Olympics and Nationals and in Philadelphia between the Athletics and White Stockings.

Travel was in vogue the summer of 1867. The Washington Nationals, led by Gorman, set off on the first team trip across the mountains. They beat every midwestern team save one—Rockford, Illinois, whose pitcher was the teen-age whiz, Albert Goodwill Spalding. (Also that year Gorman at age twenty-eight was elected to a one-year term as president of the national association.) In 1869 Cincinnati's Red Stockings arranged the first eastern tour by a team from the Middle West; a Madison Avenue Grounds stopover (Red Stockings, 47; Maryland, 7) only lengthened the travelers' record of no defeats all year. In 1870 the Pastime and Maryland clubs both set forth on tour, the first (a "strictly amateur" nine) splitting six games in New York State and the second touring Ohio and Indiana. The expense, however, was too much for the Marylands, and the team broke up. Its best players accepted an offer to play for Fort Wayne.

Yearly the national association designated one team as national champion, though universal acknowledgment was a rarity. Baltimore's teams were never near the top.

In those years of release from wartime restrictions, when the nation was surging industrially, geographically, recreationally, a factor in the rising popularity of formal baseball was the prevalence of wagering and the game's accessibility to gamblers and bettors. There was little to insulate the players from their public; sometimes effort was made, by payment or threat, to predetermine the progress or outcome of a game. Documenting most such offenses is by now impossible, but to the spectators present for occasional puzzling failures at bat or in the field, dishonesty was the explanation.

Nevertheless, as the 1870s began, "the national pastime" meant baseball. And growth meant change. Among aspects that catch the late twentieth-century eye—many of them in contrast to today's baseball—are these:

The end of amateurism and localism. As early as 1860 baseball's best players (e.g., Creighton) were quietly accepting soft-touch off-season jobs, or being paid in cash. Gorman's specialty was stuffing the federal payroll with ballplayers. All but one of the 1869 Cincinnati were from other cities; and it was a first that those nine players and a substitute were all openly under contract.

The players. In the later 1800s the typical baseball athlete—say, five feet, eight inches tall and weighing 165 pounds—was hardly larger than the typical American (Davy Force, a Baltimore shortstop, stood five feet, four inches and weighed 130 pounds). One of the players served as manager. Injury was the sole allowable basis for replacement during play. With many no-game days, seasons were long. Once in the 1880s and once in the '90s Baltimore played a tripleheader. Yet games had to be over by dark. For some players the evening was one long carousal.

The spectators. Two circumstances gave organized baseball impetus: its rules were already known to the male population, most of whom had played baseball in boyhood; it pitted city name against city name for the first time in American sports experience. In 1860, in Brooklyn, the first fence went up, and admission was at a price. Thus a team had capital to use in hiring players. The ownership also had its carpenters put up a roofed grandstand and, beyond, the tiered benches called bleaching boards. Instead of in dugouts players sat along each sideline on movable benches. Clubs seldom gave out paid attendance; the total, when printed next day, was a newspaper reporter's guess.

Uniforms and equipment. Until the 1880s players went without fielders' gloves and a catcher's mask. The 1869 Cincinnati players' red stockings were visible because they had shifted from long pants to knickers. In some photos the knickers have pressed creases. Shirts had roll collars, and in early studio photos the players often wore a neckerchief.

Rule changes. Any list would include the lengthening of the distance from pitcher to home plate from forty-five feet to fifty feet and finally to sixty feet, six inches; the loosening of restrictions on the pitcher (whose delivery was originally underhand, then sidearm too, then overhand); attainment of the curve and trick pitches caused by tampering with the ball's surface; reduction in the number of balls for a walk; the end of fair-foul hits and one-hop outs; the shape and positioning of home plate; the counting of a batter's first two fouls as strikes; and the introduction of pinch-hitting and the infield-fly rule.

Originally, a coin was tossed to decide which team should bat first. The typical game was over in an hour and a half; 4 P.M. was therefore a practical, familiar starting time. When the batter singled, a runner on first who advanced to third was often credited with a stolen base. With no base runners the catcher dropped back for the first two strikes, stopping pitches on the bounce. With a base runner, the lone umpire on duty moved from behind the catcher to behind the pitcher. Unhappy was the umpire's lot, hectorated by the crowd immediately and the press next day.

Spectator demeanor. A lopsided score could induce languor; more often, the fans were boisterous. Vile words came from the players, too. Sometimes, roped-off

outfield standees interfered with the enemy pursuit of batted balls. Scoreboards were primitive; scorecards, which printed the names and positions, were the means of identifying players. Few of the spectators were women.

Management behavior. Few documents have survived. One bit of commercialism was for another city's arriving team to play a three-game series, and for the rivals to split the first two games, heightening ticket-buyer interest in the third game. Trades came later; the early players, who signed contracts, sometimes broke them, jumping to a team that offered higher pay and being known as "revolvers" (Davy Force, for example, was an infielder for a different city every year, including Baltimore, between 1871 and 1875). Occasionally, a whole team jumped in mid-season from lower league to higher, or vice versa.

To restrain its players the owner-dominated National League, founded in 1876, introduced the reserve clause, which bound a player to the last previous club for which he had played. If when his contract expired the club offered him a new one, he could either sign or not play at all, for no other league team would make him an offer. Thus a supposed troublemaker could be denied a living in organized baseball.

As private corporations, clubs published no profit-and-loss statements. But occasional financial data emerged. A top player in the 1870s made \$1,200 a year; ordinary skill was worth \$800. In 1883 a Baltimore entrant in the first year of the minor league known later as the International League paid its catcher \$50 a month. Franchises cost little, but the National League was soon ejecting clubs deemed unworthy. To found a rival league was fairly easy, since it took only two months to build a new, wooden ballpark; but, amid a series of economic depressions, individual franchises sometimes failed to meet payrolls. More than one club dropped out in mid-season, and two of the five leagues rivaling the National League through 1901 collapsed after a single year.

In 1871 the first major league, the player-dominated National Association of Professional Base Ball Players, began play. Formation of the NAPBBP was a lethal rebuke to the existing amateur baseball players' association. If the amateurs and the pros alike seem to have been lax or ill-organized (in five years the league issued twenty-three franchises), they were, after all, feeling their way. No American prototype existed for the NAPBBP's grand system of intercity league, home-and-home play and pennant championship.

The name Baltimore was missing from those first-ever pennant standings. One reason was the Pastimes' determination to retain their unsalaried status; the other, the departure of the Marylands' best players to wear instead the uniform of the Fort Wayne Kekiongas, who won the first major-league baseball game (played in Indiana, 4 May 1871; Fort Wayne 2, Cleveland 0—an unusually low score). The winning pitcher was Bobby Mathews, a righthander later to become the outstanding native Baltimorean in nineteenth-century baseball.

In July, coming east, Fort Wayne played Washington's Olympics. On the Fourth the two teams entrained for Baltimore and played each other again, at the Madison Avenue Grounds, confident that fans would pay to watch the former Maryland

players. Fort Wayne lost—in what counts now as Baltimore's first big league baseball game—and also failed to finish the season.

The following year Baltimore did join the NAPBBP, with vigor. An all-new team at an all-new park, they were the Lord Baltimores, spoken of sometimes as the Lords, at Newington Park. Who financed them? The one associated name was Alphonso T. Houck and Company: "The Only Bill Posters and Distributors in Baltimore," with "Over 300 Bill Boards on the Principal Corners . . . and on All the Walls and Fences."¹² Houck owned or rented Newington Park. Presumably, its outfield fence heralded many a consumer product but evidence is wholly lacking. No likeness of Newington Park (at Baker, Gold and Carey streets and Pennsylvania Avenue) is known to exist.

Throughout, the funding for Baltimore's teams in organized baseball seems to have come from middle-sized firms, not big ones. In the mid-1880s the Von der Horst family, operators of the Eagle Brewery and Malt House at Belair Road just above North Avenue, became principal owner; Eagle was in the middle range of some twenty-five Baltimore breweries (not until 1954 did major figures from Baltimore's business community put together the financing for a team that would represent the city).

The 1872 team, with its established players, cost money. They included Bobby Mathews, pitcher, and Tom Carey, second baseman, from the Kekiongas; Everett Mills, the Olympics' first baseman; John Radcliffe from the Philadelphia Athletics, pennant winners in 1871, at shortstop; outfielders Lipman Pike and Tom York from the Troy Haymakers, Dick Higham from the New York Mutuals and George Hall from the Olympics; third baseman Cherokee Fisher from Rockford; and Bill Craver from Troy as catcher and manager. Lip Pike, now thought to have been the first Jewish professional baseball player, hit .292 over his two Baltimore seasons and fielded capably. The famous day in Brooklyn, 14 June 1870, when the Atlantics broke the Cincinnati Red Stockings' winning streak at eighty-four games, Pike ("The Iron Batter") had been at second base for the home team.

The old days, too, had show-business touches. On 27 August 1873, an open date, Newington Park was the scene for a 100-yard dash, man versus horse; that is, Lipman Pike of the Lords against a trotter named Clarence for a purse of \$250. Admission was 25 cents. Pike, billed as "America's Fastest Runner," wore tights, not baseball uniform. Man, timed at ten seconds, won by four yards; horse, though allowed a running start, merely placed.¹³

The Lords opened the 1872 season 18 April, overcoming Washington's Olympics on the road 16 to 0. On 22 April they engaged New York's Mutuals in the first-ever home opener of a Baltimore major-league team. Some 3,500 tickets were sold at 50 cents—a stiff price then. Radcliffe first up, singled; Craver later homered; Fisher, pitching that day, squelched the enemy; and Baltimore won, 14–8. The team's "black and yellow plaid stockings" weren't ready yet; otherwise, the players were resplendent in white hats, long-sleeve "tight-fitting silk shirts, with Lord Baltimore's escutcheons on the left breast," wide belts, "yellow Saxon cloth pants," laced

high-tops and, in several instances, moustaches.¹⁴ The Canaries, some fans called them. All continued well until Boston came to town and proved unbeatable.

In 1872, the Boston Red Stockings were on the way to dominance over the National Association. Their lineup included the pick of Cincinnati's 1869–1870 team plus Al Spalding, by then the game's foremost pitcher. The defending champion Athletics proved to be their nearest pursuer; Baltimore finished a strong third. In hits and in runs, Baltimore led all. As to pitching, perhaps Mathews had not yet perfected the spitball that was to bring him—standing five feet five-and-one-half inches—a career total of 298 major league wins (in 1992 Mathews is the most illustrious pitcher *not* a member of the Baseball Hall of Fame).

In Brooklyn on 5 October 1872 the Lords beat the Atlantics 39 to 14, still the highest run total by a Baltimore team. They scored in every inning; seven hits and six runs were by the catcher, Scott Hastings.

That winter, hoping to improve, Baltimore and New York signed each other's star pitcher. New York surrendered William A. Cummings, known as Candy, famous now as the first master of the curve ball. Moreover, Baltimore snatched away a Boston stalwart, Cal McVey who—along with the Lords' alternate pitcher, Asa Brainard—had played for the winning-streak Cincinnati. Yet these stronger Lord Baltimores still finished third, even after McVey (who batted .369) took over as manager.

What went wrong in 1874 is still in dispute. That year's newcomers were another old Cincinnati regular, Charlie Gould, at first base and, in Lipman Pike's place, Oscar Bielaski, reputedly the big time's first Slavic player. But Gould batted only .225. And Brainard, now the main pitcher, was thirty-three years old and worn out: 5 wins, 24 losses. Was it falling gate receipts, after the Crash of '73? Skimpy salaries? Fixed games? Soon the listless Lords were last and did not even play out the season. Managed by third baseman Warren White from Washington, they won 9 and lost 38 for a .191 percentage that is still Baltimore's lowest ever.

When NAPBBP play resumed in 1875, it was without Baltimore. In a gesture common at the time, the club had gone out of business. Baltimore's baseball cranks (the word then for fans) could only ponder the rude meaning of disfranchisement. Again and again that lesson was to be relearned. Yet as recently as 1873 baseball had been prospering to the extent of *two* Baltimore franchises in the National Association. The second team called itself Maryland and used the Madison Avenue Grounds for a home field. Playing only five games, losing them all, the Marylands disbanded. But it is their distinction to have been the majors' first team to go by state name, not city.

By 1876 the NAPBBP itself had collapsed. The new National League, formed and ruled by profit-minded businessmen, stood supreme. To elevate baseball's moral tone, the NL forbade three forms of sin on its premises: Sunday games, gambling, and the sale of whiskey and beer. It expelled clubs failing to play out their schedules. And its ticket charge was 50 cents. Once again there was little continuity of individual franchises; in successive years the NL operated with eight teams, six, six, eight, and again eight. The transient franchise-holders included

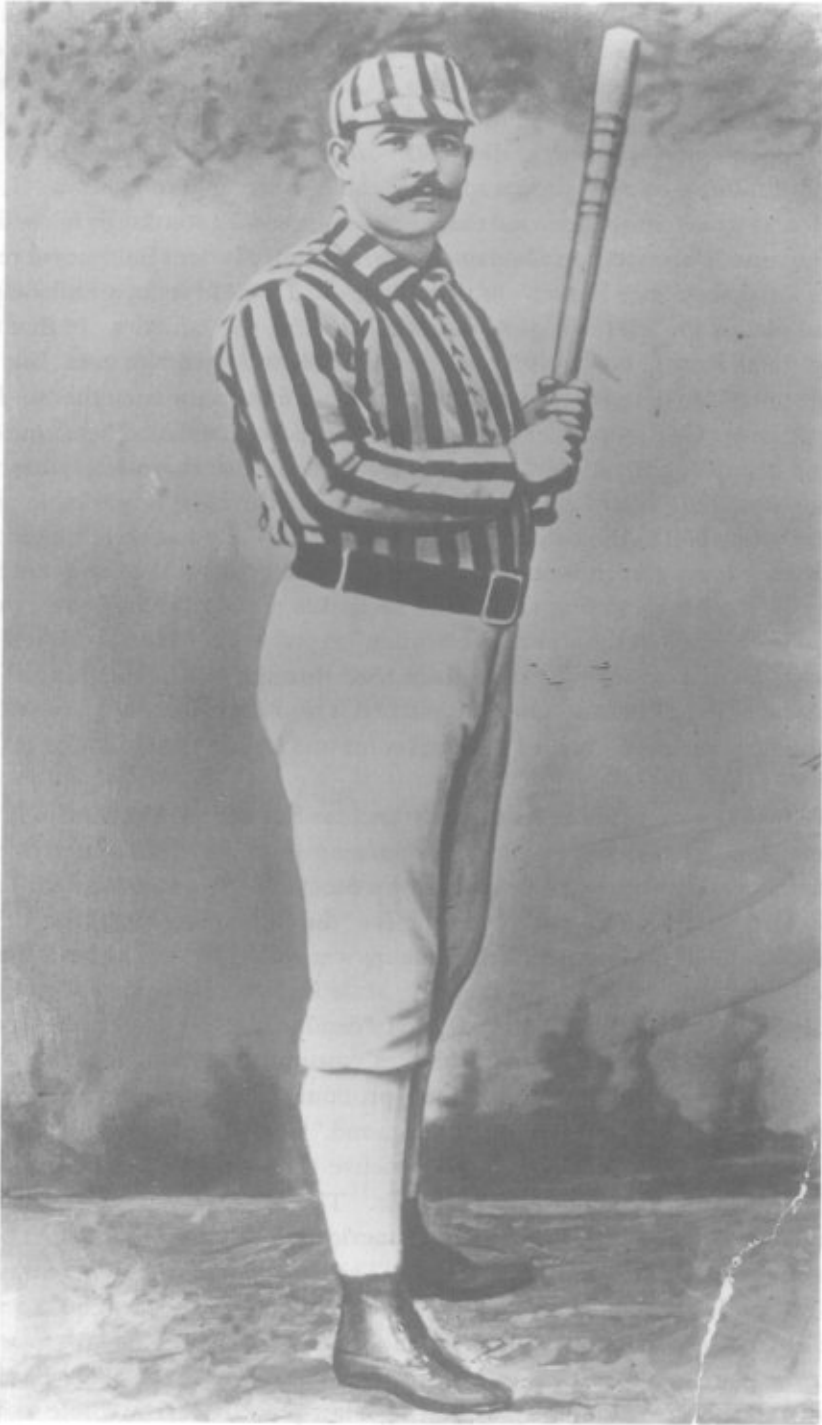
Indianapolis, Hartford, Syracuse, Troy. The nation's appetite for baseball (and raucousness) was unsatisfied. Teams continued to be fielded in non-league cities; they played not only one another but also NL teams with open dates on that era's briefer schedules. New York, Philadelphia, and Washington supported one or more independent city teams, as did Baltimore, notably in 1879 and 1880.

The Baltimores, as newspapers spoke of them, were able to beat an NL team (Providence, which finished second that 1880 season) on a good day or make fifteen errors (against Worcester) on a bad one. Yet these independent Baltimores remain notable for three roster names. At third base was Levi Meyerle, a Philadelphian who had played for 1871's original pennant-winners, the Athletics. In that twenty-eight-game season, he hit .492, still the highest batting average ever. But Long Levi, age thirty-five in 1880, was also a poor fielder. At first base was another six-footer, a twenty-two-year-old lefthander from upstate New York, Dan Brouthers, one of the first true distance hitters. And in the box for Baltimore those two years was a Baltimorean, Hugh Ignatius Daily. "He is certainly the most remarkable pitcher that ever sent a ball to the bat," the *American* wrote.¹⁵ "He has no left hand at all, that member having been shot off in an accident (in boyhood, at the Front Street Theater), but with his strong right hand he makes a magnificent delivery of the ball, and even employs the stump in catching." A pad was attached to his left wrist. Daily went on to a big-league career from 1882 through 1887, though none of his eight teams was Baltimore. Once he pitched a no-hitter; in 1884, at age thirty-seven, he rang up a then-record 483 strikeouts and in one game fanned 19. One year Daily *batted* .214.

Another forgotten incident from that franchise-less 1875–1881 interlude was a two-game series at Newington Park between teams composed of women: the New York Red Stockings and the Philadelphia Blue Stockings. Representing the Female Athletic Association, they were competing for "the Championship of the U.S." In that heyday of Phineas T. Barnum, the lineups were advertised to include "the only Two Female Curve Pitchers in America." Male Baltimore snapped at the bait; a great surge overflowed the ballpark, and "deadheads" populated the roofs of nearby houses. Details of the women athletes' costume are lacking from newspaper accounts, which—no doubt male-written—pronounced the occasion a "Farce" and "The Worst Game Ever Played on the Diamond."¹⁶

More lasting was ill will toward the restrictive National League, and it inspired recurrent attempts to found a rival league. The impetus was strongest in the Middle West. For balance, the six-team American Association that began play in 1882 included Baltimore and Philadelphia. The AA expanded to eight teams, then in 1884 to twelve; it stabilized at eight. This "beer and whiskey league" set a gate charge of 25 cents and played Sunday games in cities without blue laws.

After the plateaus and crevasses of the 1870s, Baltimore in the 1880s had a new baseball experience—monotony. Following a last-place 1882, the whole team was let go and replaced by the unaffiliated Brooklyn Atlantics, whose manager was William (Bald Billy) Barnie, a former catcher. But the new Baltimores, too, finished last. In 1884—organized baseball's apex of activity, if not enthusiasm, a



Dan Brouthers, who in 1894 hit a legendary home run out of the ball park. For years the painted word "Here" marked the point where his shot cleared the fence. (Babe Ruth Museum.)

year with thirty-four franchises in three major leagues—Barnie's men at least won more often than they lost. But the effort was depleting: they returned to last place for two more years. Finally, in 1887, they shot up to third place, only eighteen games out. Again came exhaustion and two fifth-place seasons. Shortly after the 1890 season began, with one more set of losers, Baltimore gave up its AA franchise.

A single player stood out on this bleak battleground: Matthew Aloysius Kilroy. A nineteen-year-old Philadelphian when he joined the team in 1886, a lefthander with a ferocious fastball, Kilroy had the strength to work almost six hundred innings a season. That year he won twenty-nine games, the rest of the pitching staff nineteen. Kilroy logged 513 strikeouts, still baseball's one-season record. (Were some of the batters intimidated? Kilroy was also charged with seventy wild pitches.) And he pitched Baltimore's first no-hitter, an away-game shutout of Pittsburgh. In 1887 not only Kilroy but his weak-hitting teammates did better. Twice he pitched and won doubleheaders. His 46 games won, of Baltimore's 77 in a 136-game schedule, remain the highest one-season total by a lefthander. His 75 games won remain the best first two years by any big league pitcher. His salary for 1888 was \$2,600, very likely a Baltimore record.

But a base-running injury foreshortened the third of Matt Kilroy's four Baltimore seasons. Following 1889—his best earned-run year, averaging 2.85 a game—Kilroy jumped to a rival league. Then his arm burned out.

Not until 1890 did newspapers begin calling Baltimore's team the Orioles. For a team nickname, this is comparatively late. Who started it? After leaving Newington Park, the major league Baltimores of the 1880s played at four different sites in north Baltimore. The first of these, at the southwest corner of 29th and York Road (the term then), was also used for events in the city's grand attempt to rival the New Orleans Mardi Gras with an autumnal festival called the Oriole. Could the name have rubbed off, for spoken use? There is no proof. (The Baltimore Unions of 1884 played at the so-called Belair Lot, adjoining the subsequent Belair Market. In 1891, the resumed AA franchise built itself a relatively up-to-date home at Huntingdon Avenue—now 25th Street—and Barclay. Why was it named Union Park? A second nomenclatural puzzle.)

Early on the American Association and National League had come to terms in a national agreement to abide by each other's reserve clause. From 1884 onward, the two pennant-winners met in an irregular post-season series. St. Louis and Detroit, rivals in 1887, played a best-of-fifteen series while on a tour of eleven cities, including Baltimore. When in 1884 a St. Louis railroad magnate funded a third league, the Union Association, and raided the established clubs, NL and AA closed ranks. The challenger lasted a single season while the Baltimore Unions, with a record of 58–47, finished a respectable third. This was the only other time after 1873 when Baltimore was home to *two* major league teams.

Like the original National Association, the AA suffered from the boredom of single-city dominance. This time, it was the St. Louis Browns who won again and again. Meanwhile, managements were tightening their grip: besides the reserve clause, they moved to impose a universal salary ceiling. Seeing themselves frozen

out while profits mounted (from player sales as well as gate receipts), players in 1885 organized as a labor union: the Brotherhood of Professional Base Ball Players. First the brotherhood rounded up backers. Then in 1890 it fielded a new third league, the Players League. Dedicated to long contracts and profit-sharing, all but one of these franchises were located in NL cities. The PL indeed presented the best baseball, before the largest attendance. But when all three leagues lost money that year, it was the PL's sponsors who wilted.

Who should get the returning PL players? The AA, suspecting chicanery, quit the national reserve-clause agreement—and, ever weaker, caved in late in 1891. The National League stood alone, as when it began. In all this, Baltimore's was a quiet role. Descent into the minors (the Atlantic Association of 1890) having proved a dissatisfying experience, Baltimore was able to re-enter the AA in 1891. It even had a winning season, thanks particularly to a battery acquired from a bankrupt Philadelphia franchise, pitcher John J. McMahon and catcher Wilbert Robinson, natives of Delaware and Massachusetts. Baltimore also hired an improbable eighteen-year-old infielder from upstate New York, a skinny fellow standing five feet, seven inches named John Joseph McGraw. Then Manager Barnie left, to be succeeded by a star outfielder, George (Rip) Van Haltren. As 1891 closed, the NL, to discourage rival-league formation, expanded from eight cities to twelve. It awarded one of its four new franchises to Baltimore.

As if modeling itself upon that first-year, last-place 1882 AA experience, Baltimore in 1892 finished twelfth and last in the NL. One Oriole pitcher, George Washington Cobb, in his only major league season, won ten games and lost thirty-seven. But the franchise-holders, the Von der Horst family, knew a half-empty ballpark would never generate large sales of their Eagle Beer. They went looking for a new and better manager and found one: Edward Hugh Hanlon, later known as Foxy Ned, a thirty-five-year-old Connecticut-born centerfielder who had managed Pittsburgh's team in the Players League. Money was part of the authority given him; Hanlon took his 1893 squad south for the Orioles' first warm-weather spring training. Like Bill Barnie, Hanlon was a bench manager in Baltimore, but he had ideas as to game tactics and was an acute judge of talent.

That year the Orioles moved up to eighth place. One of their victories was a 5–0 no-hitter against Washington pitched by William V. Hawke, a twenty-three-year-old Delaware righthander; it was the NL's first (and for some years, only) no-hitter under the just-ordained longer pitching distance (sixty feet, six inches), with round mound instead of oblong box. Thanks also were due to a nimble second baseman, Henry P. Reitz; a second catcher, William J. Clarke; and two new outfielders, Walter Scott Brodie, a Virginian, and a twenty-one-year-old adonis from Massachusetts, Joseph J. Kelley. For the 1894 season Hanlon (moving McGraw to third base) brought in a new shortstop, Hugh A. Jennings; another outfielder, William H. Keeler (originally Kelleher), age twenty-two, lefthanded; and a new first baseman—the Brouthers of the 1880 team, the same Big Dan but now age thirty-six. Many another player came, did not make the fifteen-man squad, and went; some thirty pitchers trooped by in the Hanlon years. But the foregoing lineup, with the



The “field of glory” appears in this rare photograph of the interior of Union Park, 25th and Barclay streets, as the Orioles practice for the National League championship series, 1894. (Babe Ruth Museum.)

hard-worked battery of McMahon and 195-pound Robinson (by now aged twenty-six and thirty), was the critical mass that ignited to form the Oriole Champions.

Annus mirabilis (miracle year) is the phrase for 1894. The pitchers were slow getting used to the new, longer distance. A Boston outfielder batted .438; Philadelphia’s outfield averaged .401. In a 132-game schedule, Willie Keeler made 219 hits; Joe Kelley scored 167 runs, Heinie Reitz hit thirty-one triples, Dan Brouthers smashed nine home runs (Baltimore’s maximum until 1955), John McGraw stole seventy-eight bases, Hughie Jennings became adept at the hit-by-pitcher route to first base (as many as three times in a game—he wore padding). Baltimore made 1,171 runs—and the league’s fewest errors. When the NL’s extra-base hitting eventually tapered off, the rattle of singles and sacrifices continued: “Inside Baseball,” sports writers called it, the run-at-a-time game.

Boston’s Beaneaters, as incumbent champion, or New York’s Giants figured to win the pennant. In August, Baltimore took the lead, but McMahon’s arm went sore. (The 1894 Orioles are still the only pennant-winner to have begun and ended the year with wholly different sets of starting pitchers.) New York then made its move; whereupon Baltimore won twenty-five of its last twenty-eight games. Victory! The Orioles’ schedule ended on the road. When they pulled in at Camden Station, a vast parade was waiting, followed by a 5th Regiment Armory reception and Rennert Hotel banquet in honor of Baltimore’s first champions ever.¹⁷ To some home-town eyes, ears, and minds that evening was the high point of the nineteenth century.



Baseball's "Big Four" as they were known
with Baltimore Orioles in mid-1890's.
Standing, left-Willie Keeler and John D. McGraw
Sitting, left- Joe Kelley and Hughie Jennings.
In that era the Orioles outclassed the National League
by winning pennants in 1894, 1896, 1896. In 1895 the
"Big Four" compiled these batting averages: Keeler, .394;
Jennings, .386; McGraw, .374; Kelley, .371.
Donated by Mrs. Alice Nichols Everett, daughter of
Charles (Kid) Nichols, Baseball Hall of Fame immortal, in 1954.

"The Big Four," the heart of the Orioles' batting order in 1894-98: Willie Keeler, John McGraw, Joe Kelley, and Hughie Jennings. (Babe Ruth Museum.)



The 1899 Orioles, their final year in the National League. (Babe Ruth Museum.)

Letdown followed, as a new post-season series paired off the first- and second-place teams. Baltimore had nothing to win, beyond a trinket called the Temple Cup; New York, everything.¹⁸ In four straight games New York did win. But to major league players, the season-long pennant race remained paramount.

Thereafter Hanlon, recognizing the good fit of his regulars, made only a few additions: chiefly, in 1895, William L. Hoffer from Iowa, a righthander who won seventy-eight games in three years; in 1896, John J. Doyle, a first baseman born in Ireland; and in 1897, Joseph A. Corbett, twenty-one, a San Francisco righthander whose older brother, James J., had been prizefighting's heavyweight champion.

Around the league, the Orioles were thought of as brawlers. Doyle's nickname was Dirty Jack. Off the diamond, they studied the rulebook; on, they watched which way the umpire was looking, interfered with opponent play, needled one another. They took the field, this band of brothers or gang of toughs, feeling they deserved to win.

In 1895, Baltimore started slowly. This time the Cleveland Spiders were the big foe. Not until the final series did the Orioles clinch; it was against the Giants, in New York—sweet revenge. But then Cleveland, a rowdy outfit, went after the Temple Cup and got it. In 1896 somehow everything worked; Jennings batted .401, Kelley stole eighty-seven bases, Willie Keeler hit four homers. Sweeping invincibly onward, the Orioles posted a 90–39 (.698) record. And this time they

won the cup, drubbing Cleveland. They then had chartered their own Pullman sleeper for road trips.

Three NL teams had won three consecutive pennants; none, four. In 1897 the Orioles tried their hardest. And no one harder than Keeler, whose personal miracle year included 239 hits (in 129 games), 153 runs and a .424 batting average. Wee Willie, standing 5 feet 4 1/2 inches and weighing 140 pounds, hit safely in every game from opening day to 25 June—forty-four in a row, a record that lasted forty-four years.

In 1897 danger's name was Boston. Late in September, with the two teams half a game apart and each playing .700 ball, the schedule brought them to Union Park for a three-game showdown. Joe Corbett lost a close one, then Wizard Hoffer won. The century's largest baseball crowd, close to 30,000 persons, crammed inside the fences for game three. League headquarters assigned *two* umpires. For a grandstand ticket, face value 75 cents by now, scalpers got as much as \$5. In the first inning, a line drive hit Corbett's pitching hand. His replacements had nothing; at the end, Beaneaters 19, Orioles 10. For whatever consolation, Baltimore that year won the Temple Cup, which was then retired.¹⁹ And in 1898 the finish was duplicated except that Boston won earlier and more easily.

Trouble loomed. There were jaded fans in Baltimore and disaffected cranks in the many cities with perennial-loser ballclubs. Owners, Hanlon prominent among them, thought to stabilize profits by buying into one another's franchises: syndicate ball, the press called it; to some fans it was collusion and a monopoly in violation of antitrust law. While Hanlon's players were making many of the game decisions, the former labor union member set about acquiring shares of Oriole stock. Shares of the Brooklyn club, too, were available; Baltimore's owners bought in. Then the bomb exploded. In 1899 Foxy Ned moved himself to Brooklyn as manager and took along Keeler, Kelley, Jennings, and three young pitchers.²⁰ It worked in that a Hanlon team finally beat Boston, winning two pennants.

Baltimore cried betrayal, but its outrage was futile. McGraw and Robinson, by then proprietors of the Diamond Cafe at 519 North Howard Street, stayed behind to contrive a new set of Orioles. McGraw, at age twenty-six a playing manager, did wonders, and the team finished a strong fourth. (It owed much to Joseph J. McGinnity, known as Iron Man, an Indian Territory blacksmith and righthand pitcher who, entering the majors at age twenty-eight, won twenty-eight games.) But the National League was in the throes of self-shrinkage. Late in 1899 it lopped off the four franchises deemed weakest: Cleveland, Louisville, Washington, Baltimore. The reimbursement to be divided among Baltimore's shareholders was \$40,000. That gayest of Baltimore's baseball decades, the '90s, was suddenly the grimmest.

The new century began amid optimism but abruptly it, too, became an abyss. A new second major league took shape in 1901, and one of its eight franchises went to Baltimore, with McGraw and Robinson as key figures. But this American League had no New York presence. Loss of franchise was, accordingly, a sword hanging over any city whose team weakened. Midway in 1902 McGraw, at

loggerheads with the AL's president and finally disillusioned with Baltimore as a city, jumped to New York in the NL, taking his best players with him. Ignominy followed: the league took over Baltimore's franchise and sent replacements from other teams so the Orioles could play out their schedule. All over again, last-place Baltimore was then out of the majors, and this time salvation would be half a hundred years in coming.

Between 1872 and 1902 almost every top baseball star could be seen in pennant-game action at a Baltimore ballpark. Among them were: Cy Young (the 512-game winner, lifetime), Kid Nichols, Al Reach, Amos Rusie, Guy Hecker, Pete Browning, Charlie Comiskey, Adrian Anson (known across twenty-seven full, major league years as Baby, Cap and then Pop), Curt Welch (briefly an Oriole), Cupid Childs (from Calvert County), Buttercup Dickerson (from Tyaskin), Dick McBride, Frank Foreman (a Baltimorean), George and Harry Wright, George Bradley, Ross Barnes, Hugh Duffy, Ed Delahanty, Jesse Burkett, Fred Clarke, Clark Griffith, Connie Mack, Honus Wagner, Larry Lajoie, Dummy Hoy, Arlie Latham, Bobby Lowe, Bid McPhee, Chief Sockalexis, Billy Sunday, Deacon White, Deacon McGuire, Roger Bresnahan, Jake Beckley, Buck Ewing, Tim Keefe, Dennis Casey, Kid Gleason, Doc Pond (an Oriole pitcher who already had an M.D. from the University of Vermont), Rube Waddell, Mike Donlin, Silver King, King Kelly. All these but never, it seems, Old Hoss Radbourn (who pitched seventy-three complete games for Providence's 1884 NL champions, won 60, and had a 1.38 earned run average).

Afar,²¹ the shirt-front word *Baltimore* put baseball fans in mind of top players: McGraw, Keeler, Bresnahan, Brouthers, Jennings, Robinson, McGinnity, Kelley—to list them in order as they entered the Baseball Hall of Fame. Some of the eight, to be sure, had performed longer for other teams and some won election on the strength of later careers as manager (half a dozen Old Orioles became big league managers). In 1992 Cooperstown's electors still had not voted in Hanlon, Mathews, Kilroy, or Brodie.²²

What lessons could the fans of Baltimore baseball have drawn from all this, as the new century began? How should they have responded to the municipal humiliation of being dumped into the minor leagues? The easy answer always is, by buying tickets and attending games regardless of the standings—by supporting the home team through every thick, every thin. True enough, without sufficient box-office income any major-league franchise—champion or doormat—is likely to be solicited by other cities with more dollars to offer. Yet to view the later nineteenth century as a whole is to conclude that behind the secure franchise stand power and influence. Baltimore, when up against the oligarchs in New York, Chicago, Boston, and Philadelphia, was ever at a disadvantage. From 1871 through 1902 the only Baltimore figure who seems to have attained a seat in the major leagues' inner council of owners and officials was Edward H. Hanlon. And the limits to his say-so shone clear when, at the end of 1902, Hanlon sought to transfer his Brooklyn NL franchise to Baltimore. The league turned him down cold. For Baltimore baseball the legacy of the nineteenth century was, at best, a fitfully happy one.

And yet—there is force of will. On 28 July 1873 the Lord Baltimores played the Boston Red Stockings, champions of the National Association, in Boston. In the second inning, Boston scored eight runs. After six innings, Boston led, 14 to 4. Refusing to quit, the team from Maryland put on a rally. In the eighth inning, Boston felt it necessary to change pitchers, removing the mighty Al Spalding. After nine innings, Boston had made no more runs. The stout-hearted Baltimores had made thirteen and won in a breeze, 17 to 14.

NOTES

1. Much of the above information is from *The Baseball Encyclopedia: The Complete and Official Record of Major League Baseball* (8th ed.; New York: Macmillan, 1990) and from publications of the American Society for Baseball Research, notably its two annuals: *Baseball Research Journal* and *The National Pastime: A Review of Baseball History*. Especially helpful were the gleanings of Al Kermisch, an independent researcher at the Library of Congress.

The most informed general work is Mark Alvarez, *The Old Ball Game: Baseball's Beginnings* (Alexandria, Va.: Redefinition, 1990). For a specific earlier treatment see John H. Lancaster, "Baltimore: A Pioneer in Organized Baseball," *Maryland Historical Magazine*, 35 (1940): 32–55. Also useful: Allen Guttman, *A Whole New Ball Game: An Interpretation of American Sports* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1988), and George B. Kirsch, *The Creation of American Team Sports: Baseball and Cricket, 1838–1872* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1989).

2. See the *Baltimore American*, 30 March 1880: "First of the Season." "Willie Bradley [was injured] yesterday when accidentally struck in the forehead with a base ball bat while looking on at a game of ball on Franklin Street Extended, near the Baltimore & Potomac Railroad. . . . The cut is a bad one, being 3 inches in length."

3. *American*, 3 September 1860.

4. *Ibid.*, 11 July 1860. On 27 October 1867, at Madison Avenue Grounds, for charity, a Fat Nine of Baltimoreans beat a Slim Nine, 28 to 25.

5. James H. Bready, *The Home Team: Baltimore Baseball From Corner Sandlot to Computer Screen* (4th ed.; Baltimore: Baltimore Orioles, 1985), p. 4.

6. Alvarez, *The Old Ball Game*, p. 56.

7. *Baltimore Sun*, 21 and 28 September 1861.

8. W. R. Griffith, *The Early History of Amateur Baseball in the State of Maryland, 1858–1871* (Baltimore, 1897), p. 7.

9. *American*, 4 July 1863.

10. The Popplein family, with nearby farm origins, was particularly active—Joseph and George with Pastime, Nicholas Jr. and John Thomsen with Maryland.

11. An 1880 team name in East Baltimore: the Neversweats. A frequent site for club baseball was Stowman's Park, at Ridgely and Bayard streets in southwestern Baltimore.

Throughout, club baseball in Baltimore seems to have been segregated by race (though white entrepreneurs rented out Newington Park or Oriole Park for games between African-American nines). No published inquiry into African-American baseball in Baltimore in the 1800s seems to exist. The Lord Hannibals and the Orientals, from South Baltimore, played at Newington as early as 1874 (see Bready, *The Home Team*, p. 108). In 1887 Baltimore was a franchise-holder in the Colored League, along with New York, Boston, Philadelphia, Pittsburgh and Louisville; the team called itself the Lord Baltimores. But the CL, forerunner of the Negro Leagues of 1920–1950, disbanded in mid-season.

12. *Woods's Baltimore City Directory* (1871), p. 12.

13. Alvarez, *The Old Ball Game*, p. 54.

14. *American*, 23 April 1872.

15. *Ibid.*, 4 July 1879.

16. *Ibid.*, 7 July 1879.

17. "Baltimore's first pennant evoked a remarkable outburst of civic pride. Business establishments shut down and the city had the look of a carnival" (Harold Seymour, *Baseball: The Early Years* [New York: Oxford, 1960], p. 325).

18. The trophy was named for its donor, William C. Temple of Pittsburgh. An imitation of sorts is the cup for international tennis donated by Dwight F. Davis of St. Louis.

19. For a detailed account of 1897's culmination, see Bill Felber, "Hit 'Er Up Again, Boston!," *Baseball History*, Winter 1987–88, pp. 20–32.

20. A star pitcher for Hanlon's 1899 Brooklyn pennant-winners was John J. Dunn (28–13), a Pennsylvania righthander. Jack Dunn later played for John McGraw's Giants and then owned and managed Baltimore's International League Orioles.

21. The 1897 Orioles went on a postseason, transcontinental tour with a composite team of major leaguers called the All-Americans; they played each other in numerous cities and towns.

22. In later life Hanlon himself came back to Baltimore, where he headed the city board of recreation and parks. Steve Brodie was an employee. Joe Kelley, too, settled in Baltimore and was active in Democratic politics. A scattering of Old Orioles lies buried in New Cathedral Cemetery, on Old Frederick Road: Bobby Mathews, Ned Hanlon, John McGraw, Wilbert Robinson, and Joe Kelley.



Lefty Grove warming up on the sidelines, the only Western Maryland native to be elected to the Baseball Hall of Fame. This picture dates from about 1931, when Grove won thirty-one games and the American League's Most Valuable Player award. (Richard Miller Collection, Frostburg, Maryland.)

Wild Dreams and Harsh Realities: Lefty Grove and the Life of Organized Baseball in Allegany County, 1900–1939

FRANCIS J. MEYERS

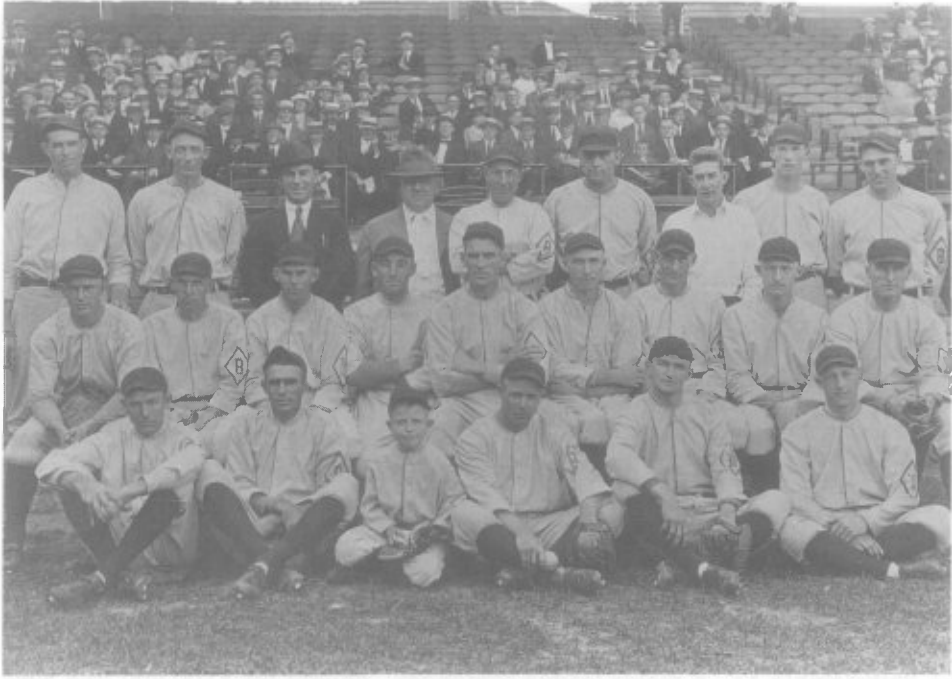
John and Emma Grove wanted something better for a son born in Lonaconing in 1900 than the drudgery of extracting coal for fifty cents a ton. They chose Moses as the boy's middle name, and when Robert reached his early teens they turned him loose to play baseball on the field that lay above the mines.

Unlike his biblical namesake, young Grove made it to the Promised Land. In 1920 the Triple A Baltimore Orioles signed him to a contract, which five years later the Philadelphia A's—a major-league contender—bought for \$100,600 (the New York Yankees that year paid the Boston Red Sox \$600 less for another Maryland player, Babe Ruth). Winning thirty-one games for the A's in 1931, Grove also won the league's Most Valuable Player award.¹ His earnings by then exceeded his father's lifetime coal-mining wages manyfold.

Other young men from the Georges Creek coal region badly wanted but failed to join Grove in the major leagues. Lacking his golden left arm, which earned him his nickname and fortune, or Ruth's extraordinary skill with a bat and glove, they (or a few of them) had to settle for a slice of paradise playing for a local minor-league team, the Cumberland Colts, or one of the amateur teams that proliferated during the Great Depression. Every town in the coal fields and every section of Cumberland—the state's third largest city, county seat, and the area's transportation center—wanted a team of its own during those hard times. Major industries formed their own teams, offering the tantalizing lure of a job to attract the better players.²

Organized baseball in Western Maryland left one prone to high hopes. Young Robert Grove's life illustrated the ease with which the game could be played and the vision, at least, of achieving greatness. Boys in the Georges Creek Valley played the summer game without obstacle. Diamonds were abundant and baseballs and gloves inexpensive. If no bats were available, or one got broken, a piece of fence sufficed.³ Grove excelled at the game from the start. Working briefly in two other Lonaconing industries before migrating to the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad yards

Mr. Meyers, who grew up in Midland, Maryland, in the 1950s listening to tales of Depression-era local baseball, now teaches school and lives in Frostburg.



Lefty Grove (second from right, standing) makes it big time with the Orioles in the early 1920s. Manager Jack Dunn stands third from left; his son at center. (Babe Ruth Museum.)

in Cumberland about twenty miles away, young Lefty already had a fastball that few teammates could catch. With his parents' permission, he soon quit his job to pitch for a semi-professional team in nearby Martinsburg, West Virginia, and then signed with the Orioles.

He entered the major leagues at a time when newspaper competition and the radio helped to create larger-than-life figures, many of them sports heroes who captured the nation's popular imagination. Two years after Grove began playing for Philadelphia—the same year Charles Lindbergh flew the Atlantic solo—Babe Ruth won every baseball fan's heart with a sixty-home-run season. If nothing else, every American shared the dream of heroic individual success.

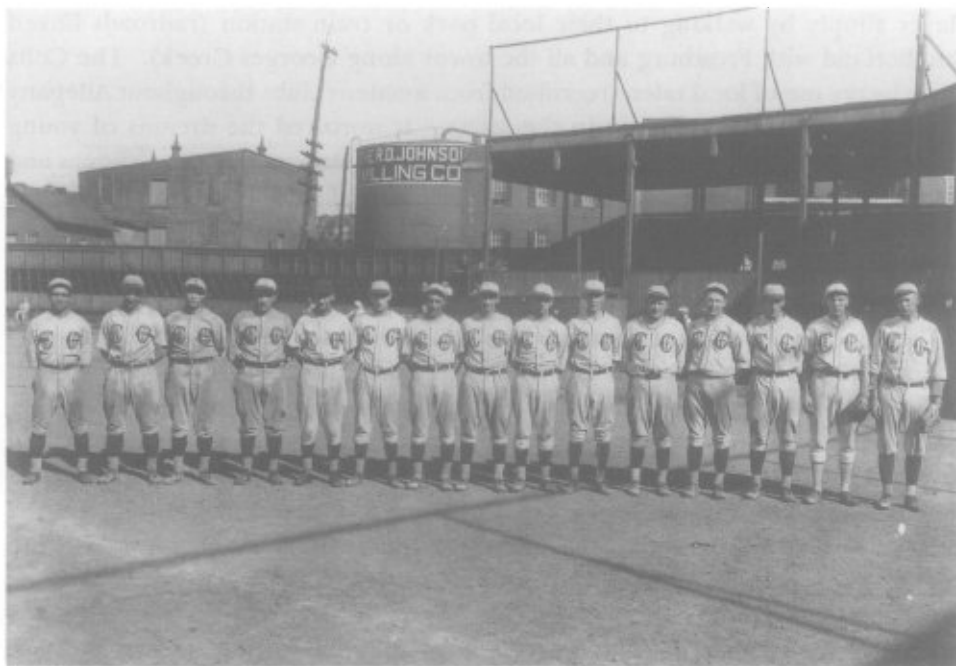
In Allegany County would-be heroes could rather easily divide time between the two worlds of work and play. While young men from the region faced erratic employment and reduced wages during the coal depression that began in the 1920s, good jobs were within reach. The Celanese textile plant and Kelly-Springfield Tire Company in Cumberland offered steady employment. At the southern end of the region the Westvaco Paper Company helped offset the troubled coal economy. Every town had at least one team and the larger ones had several; Westvaco fielded a team of its own, Cumberland industries more. In 1923 the region's potential for sustaining regular play for regular pay enabled the Queen City to land a Class D professional team, the Cumberland Colts. Fans could follow their favorite team or

player simply by walking to their local park or train station (railroads linked Cumberland with Frostburg and all the towns along Georges Creek). The Colts made heavy use of local talent recruited from amateur clubs throughout Allegany County—a promising practice in the 1920s. It nurtured the dreams of young players, who naturally envisioned the Colts as a way station to higher leagues and better pay. The Chesapeake and Ohio Canal, closed commercially in 1922, redeemed itself the following year with completion of a six-thousand-seat park near the canal terminus in Cumberland. The scheme seemed to pay dividends to everyone by 1927, when the Colts won the mid-year championship.

There nonetheless were distress signals for professional baseball in Allegany County. From the beginning of the partnership with the C&O, the Colts paid rent to the economically defunct company. The club also faced inflationary operating expenses and competed with amateur teams that boasted hometown stars and attracted loyal boosters. Even before the stock-market crash of October 1929 (when the organization's net income was a meager \$260 in a \$43,000 budget⁴), the Colts sponsored circuses, auctions, and other fund-raising events in an effort to produce profits. In 1930 the C&O raised the Colts' rent and the percentage of gate receipts it required for using the stadium. When the canal company also insisted on taking half the take from the Colts' special fund-raising events, Western Maryland congressman Frederick N. Zihlman intervened, leaving the prior arrangement intact.⁵ But the lesson was clear. The Colts' continued life would require a combination of great play on the field, thousands of regular customers, innovative measures, and a spirit of community volunteerism.

Indeed, the Colts struggled on by adopting measures that mirrored Governor Albert C. Ritchie's inventive attempts to keep Maryland from becoming a ward of the federal government. The organization established a booster club whose members hounded local merchants for donations while also holding dances and selling buttons to raise additional cash. Kelly-Springfield gave the team \$350 outright.⁶ More daringly the C&O added lights to Community Park, expecting this innovative measure to bring more wage earners to evening games. The lights did help with attendance. Predictably, they also increased expenses. In order to reduce general operating costs, the team in 1931 stopped traveling to other cities in the eight-team Mid-Atlantic League (the rest in Pennsylvania and West Virginia) by bus, packing players into autos instead.⁷ They may have used less fuel than one large bus.

Big gates seemed to be the only answer to the club's economic woes, however, and one way to produce them was to become a major-league farm club. In 1932 the Colts joined the Yankee system, gambling on the belief that the glamour of association with the team of Ruth and Gehrig would help attract fans and provide a direct pipeline for local greats to the big leagues. Yet the new affiliation produced more financial hardship. Now the Colts had to take any player the Yankees sent them and pay the transportation cost for personnel that moved between Cumberland and New York or other farm clubs. Only one Colt, Vito Tamulis, took the



The Cumberland Colts at Cumberland Community Ballpark, c. 1930. (Allegany County Historical Society.)

train north during this association. In a last-ditch effort to save the team in 1932, the Colts organization cut ticket prices to twenty-five cents.⁸

A winning team made up of local players offered the best hope for the Colts' economic salvation. Uniting these two important psychological factors would lift the sagging spirits of unemployed sports fans and improve revenues. During the 1930 and 1931 seasons better field performance on the part of local heroes did just that. For several weeks early in the 1930 season (before fading to third place), the Colts led the league. Johnny Byrnes from Eckhart, on the edge of the coal fields, survived the whole season with the team while the Colts moved one other Western Maryland player to a class C team during the playing year and cut another.⁹ In 1932 the Colts' roster contained no one from Allegany County, and attendance dropped. By that time the financially stricken Mid-Atlantic League had imposed limits of fourteen players on each club's roster. This step killed Byrnes's dream of joining Lefty Grove in the majors (Byrnes hastened his separation from the Colts by expressing his disenchantment with becoming a Yankee affiliate¹⁰). The new player limit also deprived Allegany County fans of the pleasure of rooting for hometown players.

An opportunity to watch baseball greats perform and see championship play always had public appeal. In 1931 and 1932 county spectators were treated to both. Capitalizing on its affiliation with the Yankees, the Colts arranged an exhibition game with (albeit a loss to) the nation's most celebrated team on 2 September 1931.

Beside Ruth and Gehrig, another future Hall of Famer, pitcher Lefty Gomez, played that night. Ruth thrilled four thousand paying fans and another thousand who watched from rooftops and truck beds when he hit a ball out of the park with a reported half-swing.¹¹ In any event, attendance the following year dipped to 1,000.¹² Many more baseball enthusiasts attended a best-of-seven-game league championship series with the Charleston Senators at the end of 1931. The Colts won in six games, which collectively drew 17,923 fans and netted each club \$1,000 per game.

Sadly enough for the fans who cheered this triumph, the Mid-Atlantic League after 1932 succumbed to economic realities. In an effort to reduce travel costs, league officials removed Cumberland from its ranks in 1933, reducing teams to four clubs in Pennsylvania and West Virginia. Cumberland merchants battled in vain to save the Colts by subsidizing a newly formed management.

Afterward an organized amateur league provided the opportunity for local players to compete and maybe acquire enough talent to emulate Grove's migratory route to the majors. The Depression failed to kill the sporting spirit, general interest in the game, or the interregional rivalry that the game naturally cultivated. To this recipe the amateur league added free attendance and the pleasure of watching relatives or friends do something right (or commit public errors). Local teams formed late in the spring of 1932, when the Colts dropped their last local player and attendance at Community Park shrank. Cumberland itself had six teams in the 1930s, Frostburg three, Westernport, Lonaconing, and Midland two each. Mt. Savage in the northern end of the coal region and some smaller towns boasted a team.¹³ Challenge games between neighboring places became common before league schedules developed. They took place on weekday evenings from early spring until late in the fall.

Some of these contests drew the crowds that the Colts needed to stay in business. More than 2,000 spectators, about a third of the combined population of the two towns, watched the Lonaconing A's (named after Grove's major league team) defeat the Midland Indians on the Fourth of July 1932.¹⁴ A year earlier, 4,500 fans attended a three game series between Midland and nearby Frostburg.¹⁵ Fans passed around a hat to collect the money needed for balls, bats, and umpire salaries. The services of a local star called for a few extra dollars. Pat Corrigan, after a brief stint with the Colts, played for four different teams in 1930 and at least six in 1931.¹⁶ Other ballplayers moved about the county as easily while earning spending money. Without leagues through 1932, the amateurs crowned no official champions.

President Franklin D. Roosevelt appealed to Americans to support baseball in the hard times as a sign of national confidence; as if in reply, Allegany countians in 1933 created four amateur leagues. Small communities along Georges Creek formed the Allegany County League. Several Cumberland teams and two from West Virginia and Pennsylvania came together in the Interstate League, while the Potomac League combined teams from Maryland and West Virginia. Stronger teams from the early 1930s joined in the fourth organized endeavor, the Cumber-



Midland's baseball team in the early 1930s. Almost everyone in the picture was a native of the Midland area. John Rogish sits at the far left in the front row; Patty Corrigan stands third from the right in the back row. (Midland, Maryland, Museum.)

land and Georges Creek League. In Garrett County to the west, six of the larger towns started the Mountain State League. Most of the players came from the CCC camps located along the Savage River. A few Allegany County young men played in both this league and one at home.¹⁷ In 1934 the craze to play ball produced twenty-eight teams with a total roster of over five hundred players. Contracts became necessary to discourage the better athletes from playing for more than one club and to enhance the game's competitive potential. The legalization of beer drinking at the parks in 1933—Roosevelt's one tangible contribution to baseball—induced spirited rivalry in the stands and gave the players a boost after the game.

Two Georges Creek teams soon learned that even amateur baseball had its realities during hard times. After Midland won the first two games of the Cumberland and Georges Creek League championship series in 1934, the league, to meet expenses, scheduled the last matches of the series under the lights; unaccustomed to the glare, the team from the coal region lost the next three games and the series. Earlier in the year a team from Cumberland had tried unsuccessfully to exploit its greater experience at night-time play. Hopelessly behind in the fourth inning of a game at Eckhart, the Cumberland nine laid down their gloves during a rain shower, then insisted on continuing the game later—under lights in Cumberland. Eckhart refused and won the forfeited game, though not before Cumberland won a few fistfights on the field.¹⁸

A 1934 purse series between two coal-region teams improved competitive player performance while also encouraging the large turnouts that swelled the prize money. During this transitional period from professional ball to extensive amateur play, a harmful dynamic began to emerge. As in the economic Depression itself, baseball demanded an increase in consumers. The number of teams the region could support clearly required incentives for both players and fans. Dividing a purse among the players led in 1934 to the most successful of several money-series games between Frostburg and Midland. Frostburg had won the first half of championship play in the Interstate League while Midland had triumphed in the Cumberland and Georges Creek circuit. Midland's arch rival won the 1934 series, which drew several thousand fans.¹⁹ The following year, across the Potomac in West Virginia, a Keyser team won \$1,000 in a seven-game round-robin series. Nevertheless, Maryland fans for the price of admission wanted something more than an afternoon in the sun.

A governing factor was an abundance of talented local players who maintained competitive performance. That ingredient was missing in 1935, when six fewer teams operated in the county than in 1934. A close observer of the action, Joe Sephus, sports editor for the Cumberland *Evening Times*, proposed reducing the number of leagues to two, each with eight teams, as a realistic way of meeting both the fans' and the players' aspirations. The two champions could meet at the end of the year for the county championship. Sephus's plan would have ended the byzantine system of players playing for more than one league and produced an undisputed area champion. It would also have provided thousands of dollars to support the best players.²⁰ Truly farsighted, Sephus's idea fell by the boards. League officials took other steps to generate hometown enthusiasm for the game. Player contracts limited play to one league and established quotas for imported players.

Confusion prevailed over stellar play in 1935 as two leagues ended the year in controversy. Keyser was declared the pennant winner in the Georges Creek League when Eckhart failed to appear for the playoff game to determine the second-half league championship (Keyser and Eckhart had tied). Eckhart argued that a misunderstanding had confused the date of the game, and an unclear league rule delivered the championship to Keyser by default. The Interstate League also ended in controversy, this one involving rumors of pitchers being bribed to influence the course of post-season play.²¹ If there was such a scheme, it failed, yet after the 1919 Black Sox scandal even the hint of dishonesty beclouded the season.

In 1936 Nature made its own assault on local baseball. A major St. Patrick's Day flood ravaged downtown Cumberland and several low-lying communities, severely damaging parks in Cumberland, Keyser, and Westernport. All the towns successfully completed park restorations in time for the season, however, and the flood produced an unexpected benefit for sandlot kids: They could now purchase water-soiled baseballs at a Cumberland store for a mere thirty-five cents.²²

In September of that year the Frostburg Merchants, under new management and made up mostly of Frostburg players, won the right to represent the area in

the National Amateur Baseball Federation Tournament in Cleveland. The Merchants won three games in a row before finally losing the five-game series. Their strong performance sparked great pride at home and an enthusiastic homecoming reception.²³

League changes and continued public support for the amateur leagues also characterized 1936. A Cumberland team dropped out of the Georges Creek League and the number of leagues was scaled down to three—Georges Creek, Potomac Valley, and Bi-State. The Bi-State featured good organization and won coverage in the *Evening Times*. The leagues agreed to operate on a split-season schedule and play more than thirty games during the summer. Two of the industrially sponsored teams—Westvaco and Celanese—gave jobs to players who would perform for their company on the field as well as in the plant.²⁴ They were two of the three best teams in the county that year, resulting in even higher rewards for the industrial clubs. The special dynamics of Depression-era baseball surfaced again with crowds of one thousand or more attending important games.

This greater competitive performance on the field manufactured another league in 1937, but one that regulated the demographic composition of the teams so as to exploit loyalties to local talent and offer lures to players. The new league drew teams from two neighboring counties in Pennsylvania and West Virginia—thus the name Tri-State—and began the year with six teams. Four of them were from Allegany County. The league established local zones for selecting players and refused admission to the Celanese and Cumberland Merchants because it wanted only teams from the Georges Creek area. One of the charter members of the newly formed Wills Creek Valley League was a team sponsored by the United Rubber Workers of the Kelly-Springfield Company. There was a message in the growth of company-sponsored teams that offered special benefits to players. In 1937 the region's two best pitchers, Pat Corrigan and John Rogish, both worked and played for Westvaco. The company paid them fifty cents an hour and gave them two afternoons a week off (with pay) to practice.²⁵ Corrigan's penchant for the post-game party may have ruined his career in that Westvaco furloughed him early in July; until then he had led the league in pitching and was one of the few natives who had the ability—if not the youth at this point—to climb the minor-league ladder. He ended the season throwing for his home town team in the Georges Creek League.

Teams struggled, as always, to find the best talent they could. Conflict between the game's dreams and realities resurfaced in questions about a player's "local origins." They clashed again in 1937, illustrating a trend that would continue until world war made it moot. Frostburg met Westvaco team that year in a league playoff series that attracted large crowds to both ballparks. Crowds overflowed onto the playing field in Westernport, just across the river from the paper plant. More than three thousand attended the games in Frostburg, whose team won the championship in one of the hardest fought playoffs of the decade. By then Westvaco, like several others in the Bi-State League, had become a semi-professional team. It provided good jobs to those it lured to play and even imported college boys—mem-



The Midland Red Sox, Bi-State Champions, c. 1938. By then several of the players had been imported from other areas. (Worlene Rogish.)

bers of the West Virginia University varsity baseball team. Naturally Lonaconing accused Westvaco of trying to buy the Bi-State championship.²⁶

In truth, the innocence of organized adult baseball in Allegany County ended forever in the 1930s. Dick Stakem, an old-timer who allegedly first spotted Lefty Grove's greatness and managed the Midland team while Grove in the 1920s and '30s demonstrated how great he really was, resisted the drift toward hiring players from anywhere to produce a winning team. In a pre-season party for players, managers, and fans of the Bi-State League in 1938, Stakem told league officials that the main purpose of community baseball was to develop local players. Their eyes should always look toward the higher prize of developing local talent that he himself had advanced more than twenty years before.²⁷

Stakem's advice, like that of Joe Sephus earlier, went unheeded. The two men were different in purpose. In fact, they represented the true dichotomy of organized amateur baseball in the county during the Depression and perhaps at any time. One opted for the dream, the other for reality. As one might suspect during hard times, realism prevailed. Both the Frostburg and Lonaconing teams tried valiantly to maintain a local roster in 1937. But before the season ended both clubs succumbed to importing players. As if to underscore Stakem's point, all four of Lonaconing's four imports refused to take part in the playoffs when the team

refused to pay them double for post-season play. Midland went on to win the league championship against two teams, neither of which could afford imported players.²⁸

Sephus's recommendation of reducing the leagues to two finally materialized in 1938. It may have had its anticipated result sooner than even he envisioned. The Frostburg Merchants represented Allegany County at the national amateur tournament in 1938 and again at Griffith Stadium in Washington the following season. Its star pitcher, John Rogish from Midland, won two games on that major league playing field in 1939. Frostburg lost the series, but Rogish fulfilled at least a small part of Lefty Grove's dream. Switching to his real home team in the subsequent area championship, Rogish shut out Frostburg in the first game.

Pitchers younger and more talented than Rogish might have followed Lefty to the greatest field of dreams had it not been for the gathering storm of war overseas; none did so until after the war ended. Other organized teams in Allegany County then adopted Stakem's proposal, and American Legion teams for youth gained in popularity. The improvised play that Grove enjoyed in his youth had become a little more regimented. In any case, these teams keep alive a strong tradition of community play. Each year in Cumberland the most successful young players are celebrated at a sports banquet that draws as many baseball fans as the area's largest dining room can pack in.

Grove, who married a hometown girl in 1921, returned to Lonaconing in the 1940s with a numb arm but a stream of customers and fans to keep him company at a bowling alley he established. Years later he was buried alongside his wife in the coal field valley that was then beginning to experience a slow economic revival. A few local baseball stars followed the legendary western Marylander to the majors. None would match his induction into the Hall of Fame.

NOTES

1. Ruth Bear Levy, "Recollections of Lefty Grove, Part II," *Maryland Historical Magazine*, 83 (1988): 127.

2. Author's interview with John Rogish, Midland, Maryland, 6 March 1977.

3. Ruth Bear Levy, "Recollections of Lefty Grove: Baseball's Greatest Left-handed Pitcher, Part I," *Maryland Historical Magazine*, 82 (1987): 169.

4. *Cumberland Evening Times*, 19 April 1930.

5. *Ibid.*, 26 April 1930.

6. *Ibid.*, 14 April 1930.

7. *Ibid.*, 4 May 1931.

8. Author's interview with John Burns, Eckhart, Maryland, 26 March, 1977.

9. See *Evening Times*, June and October 1930.

10. Burns interview, 1977.

11. *Evening Times*, 3 September 1931.

12. *Ibid.*, 25 May 1932.

13. *Ibid.*, 7 May 1932.

14. *Ibid.*, 5 July 1932.

15. Ibid., 10 October 1931.
16. Rogish interview, 1977.
17. Ibid.
18. *Evening Times*, 8 July 1934.
19. Ibid., 18 August 1934.
20. Ibid., 22 April 1934.
21. Ibid., 9 September 1935.
22. Ibid., 17 April 1936.
23. Ibid., 10 September 1936.
24. Rogish interview, 1977.
25. Ibid.
26. *Evening Times*, 8, 13 and 22 May, 10 and 14 June, and 12 and 18 September 1938.
27. Ibid., 30 April 1938.
28. Ibid., 8, 13 and 22 May, 10 and 14 June, and 12 and 18 September 1938.

Comebacks and Fisticuffs: The Many Lives of the Eastern Shore League, 1922–1949

BARRY SPARKS

In 1922 the New York Giants played the New York Yankees in the World Series, the majors produced three .400 hitters, Rogers Hornsby won baseball's Triple Crown, and organized baseball reached the Eastern Shore of Maryland.

Baseball had been a popular pastime on the Shore for many years. Almost every town supported a team, and competition among the amateurs could be fierce (some rivalries survive today). Baseball's prosperity on the Eastern Shore needed no more proof than the fact that crowds at ball games frequently doubled the town-site's population. The movement for professional baseball grew for natural reasons. Since most amateur players were farmers, chores like planting crops and harvesting strawberries complicated team schedules. Rain postponed games and farm work alike, placing pressure on good weather. Impatient fans looked to the Class D Blue Ridge League in West Virginia—and saw a firmer game schedule, ostensibly better umpiring, and apparently less rowdiness; they believed they gazed upon better baseball at a cheaper price.

As early as May 1921 the Salisbury Chamber of Commerce had proposed a six-team organized-baseball league on the Eastern Shore. Each town that wanted a team posted a \$1,000 forfeit fee as a guarantee of interest. As soon as officials of the Blue Ridge League learned of these plans, they sent league president J. Vincent Jamison to Salisbury to explain the working details of organized baseball and the features of Class D organization. Thus the Blue Ridge League played a major role in the establishment of organized baseball on the Shore, not only serving as an example but also helping to set up the league's first set of rules. The league formally organized in late October 1921 and began play in 1922, the original teams representing the Maryland communities of Salisbury, Pocomoke City, Cambridge, and Crisfield along with Laurel, Delaware, and Parksley, Virginia. These towns formed a geographic wheel that simplified team travel; Easton, too far north of the hub, lost its bid for original membership. The league required every town with a team either to build a new ballpark or enlarge its old one.¹

Barry Sparks, a native of Cambridge, has a long-time interest in baseball history.

Crisfield's opening-day game that first season proved unforgettable—and a bit ominous. Many years later, Salisbury attorney Stanley G. Robins, who played second base for Crisfield that season, recalled the game.

I remember it vividly. We were hosting Parksley. Around the second inning, Parksley was at bat. The umpire called a strike three on the batter. Boos rang from the crowd of 600 fans and then, lo and behold, this drunk ran out from the sidelines and clobbered the umpire. Players and some of the spectators ran out and pulled him off the ump, who was later taken to the hospital. He was pretty beat up if I remember correctly and the game was called at that point. It was certainly an unusual way to begin the season.²

Despite various efforts, fan disorder remained a problem throughout the league's history.

During the winter of 1922 and spring of 1923 officials from each franchise strove to cover the league's first year's deficit by selling additional stock—a common method of raising money under an agreement most minor-league clubs had with the majors. By terms of the agreement, the town baseball association was responsible for paying player salaries that ranged from the lower limit of \$1,750 per month in 1922 to \$2,250 per month in 1947. Major-league clubs then paid about \$2,000 for exclusive rights to draft players from the Class D organization. On a working-agreement basis the major league clubs were responsible for supplying players to their minor league affiliates. Sometimes the major league club would bear entire financial responsibility for operating a minor league club. Or a team could be financially supported by one individual, with the team operating independently of any major-league club—a risky arrangement that often proved costly. Arthur Ehlers, who owned the Pocomoke franchise in 1937–38, was the only man to take that risk in the Eastern Shore League; he later confessed to hocking his furniture on occasion to meet the team's monthly payroll.³

In 1923 eight teams comprised the league. It had elected a new president, M. B. Thawley of Crisfield, and accumulated over \$2,000 in debts. Conditions worsened in early July, when Milford refused to abide by the class player limit of three (a class player was one who had played in more than twenty-five games in a higher-division league). This rule, along with the monthly salary limit, was the basis for the league. Yet both were frequently violated throughout the history of the league and turned out to be instrumental in the league's failure. For violation of the class-player limit the team had to forfeit all the games it had won while using him. These forfeitures could drop a team completely out of the pennant race early in the season and thus dramatically affect attendance. Milford chose to quit the league rather than submit to the indignity of forfeiting so many of its victories and playing the rest of the season to empty seats.⁴

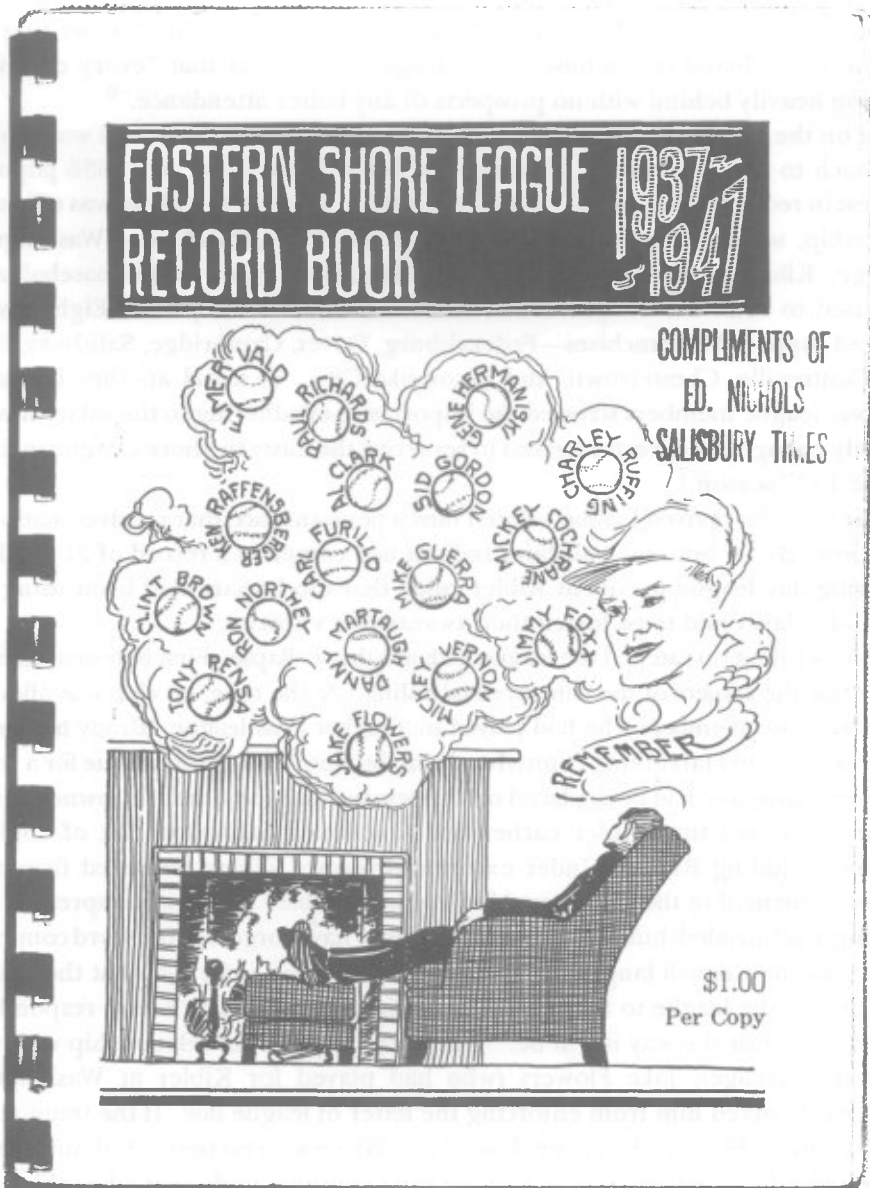
Dover won the 1923 pennant with two future Hall of Famers on its roster—Charles “Red” Ruffing and Mickey Cochrane, who played under the name of Frank King to protect his amateur status. In mid July Dover played Martinsburg, West



Jimmie Foxx—a Sudlersville native who played for Easton in the Eastern Shore Baseball League when he was sixteen years old—made it to the big time with the Philadelphia Athletics in 1925. Then seventeen, he became the youngest player in the major leagues. (Babe Ruth Museum.)

Virginia, in the “Five State Championship” series (featuring Class D teams from Maryland, Delaware, Pennsylvania, Virginia, and West Virginia) and won the best of seven games. Once again the playoff series was responsible for what money there was in the league’s treasury at the end of the season. Helping at the gate this year was the renowned commissioner of baseball, Judge Kenesaw Mountain Landis, who came to the Eastern Shore to witness the playoffs. On 19 July, “Landis Day,” Judge Landis watched Cambridge beat Laurel in Salisbury.⁵

The commissioner’s blessing notwithstanding, the Eastern Shore League faced serious troubles. Burdened with debt and facing an unpromising financial picture,



The ups and downs of the Eastern Shore League were commemorated in this tenth-anniversary record book. Ed Nichols of the *Salisbury Times* had long been one of the major chroniclers of the league. (Ted Patterson.)

officials had to doubt that the Shore could support an eight-team league or even if teams would play the following season. They did, but the 1924 season set off on shaky ground—with yet another new president (Harry Rew of Parksley), heavy debt, and reshuffled franchises. Except for pennant-winning towns, attendance-related problems plagued the league until finally, on 11 July 1928 at the Wicomico

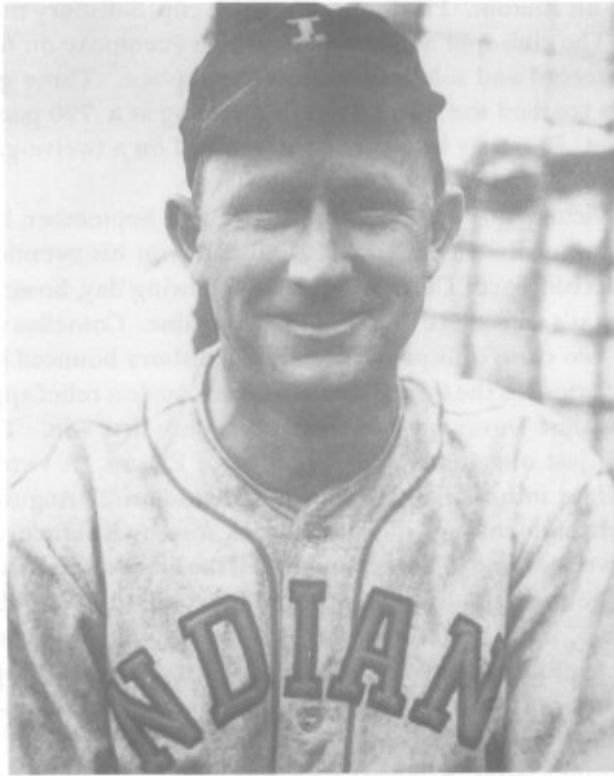
Hotel, directors disbanded the league by a vote of 4–2. President Rew, writing his treasurer, attributed the demise of the league to the fact that “every club was running heavily behind with no prospects of any better attendance.”⁶

But on the Eastern Shore summer life without professional baseball was simply too much to endure, especially during the Great Depression. By 1936 popular interest in reorganizing the league had mounted. All that was lacking was effective leadership, which finally came from Tom Kibler, baseball coach at Washington College. Kibler contacted the promotional director of minor league baseball and promised to renovate ballparks that had been idle for six years. Eight towns pledged support for franchises—Federalsburg, Dover, Cambridge, Salisbury, Easton, Centreville, Chestertown, and Pocomoke City. To avoid another financial collapse, league members stressed the importance of adhering to the salary limits. Happily enough, the director agreed to resurrect the Eastern Shore League in time for the 1937 season.⁷

That year the revived league offered fans a pennant race that received national attention. By 18 June the Salisbury Indians had compiled a record of 21–5. The following day league president Kibler ruled that the Indians had been using an ineligible player and must forfeit their twenty-one victories.

Kibler’s ruling threatened the league with another collapse. First baseman Robert Brady was the subject of the controversial ruling. At the time, no club was allowed more than two members who had played in a higher class league. Brady had been under contract to Harrisburg, Pennsylvania, in the New York-Penn League for a year; he never played and had been placed on the reserve list. Joe Cambria, owner of the Indians, objected that Kibler earlier had sanctioned Salisbury’s list of eligible players, including Brady. Under extreme pressure, Kibler remained firm and produced turmoil in the often-troubled league. “Kibler . . . always impressed me as being level-headed, but in this case, he seems to have forgotten the word common sense is in the English language,” said Cambria. When informed that the ruling might cause the league to fold for a second time, the steadfast Kibler responded, “Then that’s just the way it will be.” Not even his personal relationship with the Salisbury manager, Jake Flowers (who had played for Kibler at Washington College), deterred him from enforcing the letter of league law. If the temporary setback rattled Flowers, he never showed it. “We’ve won 80 percent of our games so far and I don’t see any reason why we can’t continue to do that,” he told some skeptics.⁸

Flowers had several reasons to be optimistic. In Cuban Jorge Comellas and Philadelphian Joe Kohlman he had the league’s best pitchers. He also had the league’s best-hitting team. Before the forfeits, Comellas was 5–0, surrendering only thirty-three hits in forty-two innings. Kohlman owned a 4–1 record and had allowed only twenty-eight hits in forty-five innings. Comellas was a crafty, twenty-year-old righthander with a roundhouse curve. He had entered pro baseball after a revolution at home closed the University of Havana and ended his student days. Kohlman, a twenty-four-year-old righty, had tried out for the Philadelphia Athletics in 1934 and 1935 and played minor-league ball elsewhere before joining



Jake Flowers, a Cambridge native, earned national recognition as manager of the 1937 Salisbury Indians. He was voted *Sporting News* Minor League Manager of the Year as he guided the team to a championship in fairy-tale fashion. (Barry Sparks.)

Salisbury. When questioned about his success, Kohlman replied, “I just mix them up—fastballs, curves, drops, change of pace, and an occasional screwball.” Most Eastern Shore Leaguers had trouble hitting one pitch; Kohlman confused them with a repertoire of five. “Comellas and Kohlman were just out of their league,” recalled Fred Lucas, who managed Cambridge in 1937. “Most of the players in Class D ball were fresh out of high school. Comellas and Kohlman had a wealth of experience and maturity compared to the rest of the league. Kohlman lost the second game of the season to us, 5–4. If a player hadn’t overrun second, the Indians would have won it. That turned out to be his only regular season loss. That’s how tough he was.”⁹

Nonetheless, immediately after Kibler’s 19 June ruling Salisbury forfeited twenty-one games and fell to last place. The Indians then caught fire. They split their next four games, but Comellas and Kohlman provided a foreshadowing of their dominance with back-to-back wins on 29 June and 1 July. Comellas struck out twenty-one Centreville hitters en route to an eight-hit, 11–5 decision and his ninth win of the season. Kohlman followed by fanning eighteen Cambridge batters while

tossing a three-hit shutout. Playing at a feverish clip, Salisbury moved out of last place 29 July. The club split a doubleheader with Pocomoke on 6 August, giving them a 32–35 record and sole possession of fifth place. Three games later, the surging Indians reached the .500 mark after playing at a .790 pace following the forfeits. Once at .500, they immediately embarked on a twelve-game win streak that carried them into second place.

The pace of victory slowed slightly in August and September, but the Indians' momentum continued. On 19 August Kohlman won his twentieth consecutive game—a 9–1 decision over Centreville. The following day, however, Centreville snapped Comellas's win streak in a thrilling 2–1 game. Comellas was touched for seven hits, but two close calls proved crucial. Salisbury bounced back with three consecutive victories. In the third game, Kohlman made a relief appearance in the tenth inning against Dover and notched his twenty-first win. That moved the Indians (47–36) just one game behind first-place Easton. A victory over Dover pushed the Indians into a first-place tie with Easton on 27 August. The Indians maintained their momentum with back-to-back wins by Kohlman and Comellas.

With ten days remaining in the season, five of the league's eight teams had a shot at winning the pennant. Salisbury appeared in trouble 1 September after losing to Pocomoke, 4–3, while Easton won a pair of games, but a four-game win streak moved Salisbury into first place by one and one-half games on 3 September. In an important contest with Easton, Kohlman responded with a no-hitter and his twentieth consecutive win. Salisbury then clinched the pennant by sweeping a doubleheader from Easton. Kohlman won the opener, 1–0, while Leon Revolinsky won the nightcap. Salisbury had climbed from the cellar to win the pennant by three and one-half games.

This heroic comeback, which featured fifty-nine wins in the final seventy games, owed much to Comellas and Kohlman. But Salisbury's offensive power certainly provided balance. On 27 August, when Salisbury tied for first place, shortstop Frank Treschock was hitting .360, second baseman Jerry Lynn, .344, and center-fielder Bill Luzansky, .321.

The amazing Indians hadn't finished yet. Salisbury entered the Eastern Shore League playoffs against Cambridge, while Easton played Centreville. The Indians swept Cambridge behind Comellas's twenty-third win and Kohlman's twenty-sixth consecutive victory. Centreville eliminated Easton in three games. In the opening game of the best-of-five championship series, Centreville shocked everyone by shelling Comellas, 9–1. In game two on 14 September, Centreville ended Kohlman's win streak at twenty-six when Lloyd Gross halted Salisbury, 3–2. Gross fanned nine, walked only one, and allowed just five hits. John Blasser rescued the Indians in the third game, beating Centreville, 6–3, with relief help from Comellas. Blasser came back to win game four by a 7–2 count to even the series. In a fitting finale, Kohlman threw another no-hitter to climax the Indians' miraculous 1937 season.

While the summer of 1937 was the most memorable for Eastern Shore League fans (and one of the more unusual in baseball history), their heroes failed them in stiffer competition. Immediately following the playoffs, Kohlman and Comellas,

with shortstop Frank Treschock, second baseman Jerry Lynn and catcher Femin "Mike" Guerra reported to the Washington Senators, the team's parent club. Fame proved brief for all but Guerra. Kohlman's major league totals show a 1-0 record in 27 innings during parts of two seasons while Comellas closed at 0-2 in 12 innings. Treschock and Lynn each played in one game, Treschock going 2-for-4 and Lynn 2-for-3. Guerra went on to play nine seasons in the majors with the Senators, Philadelphia As and Boston Red Sox, compiling a lifetime batting average of .242.¹⁰

The Eastern Shore League between 1938 and 1940 was financially stable and lost only one franchise; future big leaguers Mickey Vernon, Carl Furillo, Sid Gordon, Mel Parnell, and Ron Northey all provided glittering play that helped to fill the parks. Yet league problems like rowdyism continued. When the Eastern Shore brought organized baseball to the area in 1922, community leaders had hoped to eliminate misbehavior at the parks. Instead, higher stakes meant if anything more rhubarbs, team fighting, and fan abuse of umpires.

On 26 July 1938 a game between Cambridge and Centreville came to a head when manager Joe O'Rourke took a swing at his Centreville counterpart Joe Davis while discussing the possibility of resuming the game, which had been halted in the bottom of the eighth with two Cambridge runners on base and no outs. Fans rushed onto the field, and as the melee worsened Francis O'Rourke, brother of the Centreville manager and secretary of the club, was knocked cold and had to be carried away for medical attention.¹¹

Less than a month later, when Cambridge beat Easton 8-3, a police escort was necessary to return the umpire home, safe, for the time, from disgruntled Easton fans. Two bad calls, according to Easton partisans, had ignited the incident. A similar fracas took place 21 July 1940, when Cambridge beat Dover, 7-2. At one point the umpire ejected Cambridge manager Hugh Poland, bringing fans out of their seats in anger. Only the peacemaking work of the Cambridge players kept them from spilling onto the playing field. Spectators quieted long enough to complete the game. But not until the wee hours of the morning could the umpires, with the aid of local police, leave the park.¹²

American intervention in World War II took many of the brawling ballplayers overseas. In 1941 Dover and Pocomoke City dropped from the league, leaving a six-team circuit. Between Pearl Harbor and V-J Day, more than three hundred and fifty major league players served their country, and many regional players joined the exodus. The year 1941 was the worst financial year for the league since 1937, with attendance dropping and only one or two clubs showing a profit (an interesting season would have helped receipts, but Milford led the league by as many as fifteen games and handily won the pennant). Kibler's successor as league president, Harry Russell, nonetheless believed that the league could have continued along had war not broken out. In any event the league folded, and once again the Eastern Shore went without organized baseball.¹³

Naturally enough, baseball men began planning a league comeback even before the war's end. Activists in each of the old franchise towns met to discuss the possibility in the winter of 1945. They included John Perry of Centreville, Dr. W.

K. Knotts of Federalsburg, Dr. Walter Grier of Milford, and Fred Lucas of Cambridge. Harry Russell remained on duty with the army air corps, and coordination with major-league owners was weak. These owners, moreover, were wary of overbuilding their minor league teams during those uncertain times. As in the past, the issue of renovated parks, or new ones, remained critical.

Cambridge, with its reputation as the best baseball town on the Eastern Shore, became a leader in talks with major-league owners. Fred Lucas, who had managed the Cambridge Cardinals as a farm team for Branch Rickey's St. Louis Cardinals (in 1945 Rickey owned the Brooklyn Dodgers) set to work trying to persuade Rickey again to support minor-league baseball in Cambridge—and to invest some \$60,000 in a new ballpark. Lucas had his baseball arguments well mapped out, but at first hunting and fishing proved the easier path to Rickey's attention. "I began making trips to Brooklyn to talk to Mr. Rickey," recalled Lucas. "He didn't warm to my idea. He was an avid outdoorsman and would rather talk about fishing than Class D baseball. One day he asked me, 'How are the fish biting in Cambridge?' Without hesitating and without really knowing, I answered, 'Great. Why don't you come down and try your hand.'" Rickey was quick to accept.¹⁴

A couple of weeks later, Mr. and Mrs. Rickey visited Cambridge and stayed with Lucas. The next morning Milford Elliott took him and the Richeys fishing on the Choptank River. Within ten minutes, Mrs. Rickey landed a good-sized croaker. A few minutes later, Mr. Rickey did the same. By the end of the day, Lucas and the Richeys had caught ninety-six fish. Delighted, Mr. Rickey wrapped fifty of them in old copies of the *Cambridge Daily Banner* and packed them in one of Lucas's old suitcases. He then caught the Colonial Express out of Wilmington for New York, the fish riding in the train's refrigerator car.¹⁵

The Eastern Shore's natural resources continued appealing to Rickey, who, when Lucas visited Brooklyn to talk minor-league baseball, always greeted the ex-manager with questions—not about baseball, but about fishing and duck hunting. Lucas invited him to go duck hunting in Dorchester County. Again Lucas made the arrangements, engaging as a guide Adrian Hynson of Hoopers Island. Lucas made sure he would be with Rickey every moment, ready to mix business and pleasure. This time Rickey brought along his thirty-year-old son. The day got off to a bad start on the water. When the hunters reached the blind they quickly realized it was going to be one of the coldest days of the year. With everyone shivering and generally miserable (they only shot one duck), Lucas did at least get in some talk of baseball.¹⁶

Rickey remained skeptical about backing a team in Cambridge and building a new ballpark there until Lucas had a money-saving idea: he suggested that the Brooklyn Dodgers could use the park as the site of a tryout camp before the class season opened, thus cutting the Dodgers' operating expenses. Lucas believed Rickey was at least thinking about the suggestion and began to take heart. "A few days after Mr. Rickey returned to Brooklyn," as Lucas told the story, "he called me and told me to pick out a site in Cambridge for the ballpark. I selected the Linden Avenue location in the center of town. Mr. Rickey and his organization spent



The 1947 Cambridge Dodgers set Eastern Shore League records for wins in a season, posting an amazing 57–6 record in front of their hometown fans. (Barry Sparks.)

\$68,000 to build Dodger Park. It was rated as one of the top three Class D minor league parks in the country. Just as we hoped, the move encouraged other major league owners to support our Class D franchises.” Following Rickey’s lead, other major league teams jumped in to help their proposed farm teams fix up their ballparks. By 1946 each town had become affiliated with a major league club.¹⁷

Thus the Eastern Shore League appeared, for a third time, in 1946. Tom Kibler again became president of an eight-team league, this time comprised of Cambridge, Centreville, Easton, Federalsburg, Salisbury, Milford, Dover, and Rehoboth. Their phenomenal fan support received national attention in 1946. The Centreville Orioles led the way. Centreville’s postwar population stood at 1,100; in 62 home games the team drew 42,500 fans, averaging nearly seven hundred a game. Sometimes the team drew 1,500. The largest crowd—for a playoff game against Dover, Delaware—numbered 2,550. Townspeople boastfully dubbed Centreville “Baseball Town U.S.A.” The Orioles’ outstanding play gave Queen Anne’s County fans plenty to cheer about. They fashioned an 88–37 (.703) record and won the pennant by ten games.¹⁸

Rivalries fueled by “betting” and various player incentives also boosted attendance. Merchants would offer \$5 or \$10 to any player who hit a home run, the amount climbing according to the importance of a game (or even inning). Jack Dunn III, president of the Centreville Orioles, recalled how in 1946 Bunky Langgood collected quite a treasure for a home run against Milford, Delaware. “We had just knocked Milford out of first place when they visited us in late July. The game drew 1,500 fans and the tension ran high as a pitchers’ duel developed,” he recalled. After nine innings, the game was tied, 1–1. Then the fans started to get into the action. Since many were dairy farmers, a quart of milk was a common prize. “When it was all over, the fans of Centreville, Chestertown, Queenstown, and Stevensville had raised an unusual kitty. I don’t know if that was the incentive or not, but Bunky Langgood delivered an inside-the-park home run in the bottom of the eleventh inning for a 2–1 win. He won sixty-four quarts of milk and \$100.”¹⁹



Cheering Eastern Shore fans as pictured in the *Sun Magazine*, 14 July 1946. That season, Centreville, with a population of 1,100, averaged 700 fans a game—support that gained the town national recognition as “Baseball Town U.S.A.” (Ted Patterson.)

Reminiscent of the Salisbury miracle of 1937, the 1946 Orioles won 31 of their last 34 games. By the end of July the Orioles were in first place by four games. Many of the Centreville players had just come out of the service. They had the maturity that many younger Class D players lacked, and the team boasted great pitching, speed, a solid defense, and good hitting.

The Orioles had four pitchers who won fifteen games or more. Late in the season the team obtained Al Heuser, who went 6–0, three of his wins coming in the playoffs. The outfield of Bunky Langgood, Nick Malfara, and Fred Pacitto hit well over .300. Langgood and Pacitto each drove in more than ninety runs. Washington College graduate Jimmy Stevens was always a big favorite with the Centreville fans. In 1946 he established the Eastern Shore League record for stolen bases in a season with eighty.

Neither bonuses nor winning seasons gave the Oriole players or management the rewards they fully deserved. Team president Dunn, for example, had to wear many hats during his first year as a club official in 1946. Early in the season, catcher Lou Isert got suspended for fighting on the field. He had a habit of throwing dirt into the batter's shoes and that started a melee against Seaford. Dunn filled in as catcher for a while and as a reserve player hit .465. He got a chance to direct the club when manager Jim McLeod went into the hospital with a bad knee. Dunn took over in early July, with Centreville in second place. When McLeod returned at the end of the month, Dunn was able to give him back the reins with the team in first place. If the groundskeeper was sick, Dunn laid the foul lines and took care of the field. He got up at 5:30 A.M. to wash the team's uniforms. “I was one of the few playing club presidents,” he said later (as one of the Baltimore Orioles' vice

presidents). "I always tell friends that I ended my playing days when I went in and asked myself for a raise and the request was denied."²⁰

Although the 1946 Centreville Orioles won the league championship and playoffs, they had almost nothing to show for it. The reward for winning the playoffs was \$500—split twenty ways. Then, despite the Orioles' success, the parent club (the International League Baltimore Orioles) declined to return the club to Centreville in 1947. The Baltimore AAA team had payroll problems of its own and was unable to afford the luxury of a farm system at the Class D level.²¹

Denied a channel to a higher league, Eastern Shore players could hardly bank their future on hopes alone. Playing in Class D minor-league baseball certainly offered few immediate material benefits. Carroll Beringer, who pitched for Cambridge in 1946 and 1947 and later served as the bullpen coach for the Los Angeles Dodgers and Philadelphia Phillies, recalled the conditions. He signed his first contract at age eighteen in 1946. The Dodgers offered him ninety dollars a month and he was a little hesitant. But when they said they would pay his way home, he said nothing could have stopped him from signing. At the time, Class D players received a dollar a day meal money. To stretch it, they frequently asked the bus driver to stop near a watermelon field when they were returning from a game. Several players would run through the field and grab what they could. The team would feast on watermelon for dinner.

Neither living accommodations nor playing conditions boosted their spirits much. Players never stayed overnight in a motel, because all league teams were less than two-and-one-half hours away. Three other players and Beringer stayed in \$4-a-week rooms at a house just a few blocks from the ballpark. On the road, the crowds were typically hostile. Visiting pitchers learned to throw while keeping an eye out for the occasional flying tomato. Umpires took a great deal of abuse, just as before the war. Only two who worked the 1946 season returned in 1947. After the 1947 season, when it became harder and harder to find major league clubs to support Class D teams on the Shore, Dover and Milford were dropped from the circuit.²²

In 1948 the Salisbury Cardinals had little trouble capturing the pennant, but the league itself was having trouble surviving. Fred Lucas, the league's new president, faced perennial problems—failure to obtain working agreements with major-league clubs, poor attendance in some towns, and the lack of financial backing. At winter meetings after the 1949 season officials of the Eastern Shore League desperately attempted to strengthen it and decide its status.²³

By December survival was dubious at best. Baseball enthusiasts on the Shore discussed possible changes to insure continuation of the league. Some observers doubted that only one of Maryland's shores could support professional baseball; they suggested expanding Class D ball to the Western Shore, with eight teams and four-day road trips. Extending the geographical base of the league would spark new interest and involve larger towns like Frederick and Hagerstown, went the argument, and league attendance surely would increase. Others suggested fewer Eastern Shore games, shorter seasons, fewer players, and lower salary limits. Lucas

supported an internal reorganization of the league. In fact, his plan became the basis of the "All-Rookie Leagues" established across the country in the mid-1950s.²⁴

Like other prophets, Lucas was ignored in his own country. Fans failed to share his vision, and the Eastern Shore League died a third death before the 1950 season could begin—perhaps primarily a victim of major-league indifference. Natives say the Shore hasn't been the same since.

NOTES

1. *Salisbury Times*, 19 May and 31 October 1921.
2. *Ibid.*, 14 June 1972.
3. *Ibid.*, 10 March 1923; author's interview with Arthur Ehlers, 22 November 1970.
4. *Times*, 6 July 1923.
5. *Ibid.*, 9 April and 19 July 1923.
6. Harry Rew to league treasurer, 14 July 1924, collection of Fred Lucas. See also *Times*, 1 May, 11 July, and 13 September, 1923.
7. *Times*, 15 January 1937.
8. *Ibid.*, 3 May and 1-21 June 1937.
9. *Ibid.*, 21 June 1937. See also author's interview with Fred Lucas, 10 January 1971.
10. *Times*, 20 June-30 September 1937.
11. *Cambridge Daily Banner*, 27 July 1938.
12. *Ibid.*, 17 August 1938 and 22 July 1940.
13. Author's interview with Harry Russell, 27 November 1970.
14. Author's interview with Fred Lucas, 10 January 1971.
15. *Ibid.*
16. *Ibid.*
17. *Ibid.*
18. *Daily Banner*, 13 May 1946; *Queen Anne's Record-Observer*, 1 September 1946.
19. Author's interview with Jack Dunn III, 2 June 1977.
20. *Ibid.*
21. *Ibid.*
22. Author's interview with Carroll Berringer, 5 August 1977; *Daily Banner*, 1 June-30 September 1947.
23. Author's interview with Lucas, 10 January 1971.
24. *Ibid.*

Boom and Bust: The Elite Giants and Black Baseball in Baltimore, 1936–1951

ROBERT V. LEFFLER, JR.

Owners of Negro baseball franchises in Baltimore were not notoriously involved in black community affairs. They owned teams for a combination of reasons—financial, philanthropic, and avocational. Late in 1934, when white sportsmen deserted the Baltimore Black Sox, the local situation looked grim.

Compared to other cities, Baltimore—a minor-league town since 1902—languished in ballpark poverty. Maryland Park, for many years a favorite among African-American fans, became a junk lot. Oriole Park at 29th and Greenmount was segregated for International League games and, though possibly available to black teams on a rental basis, seated only 10,495 persons. Municipal Stadium—constructed of earth, cement, and wood in 1922 to compete with Philadelphia for the yearly staging of the Army-Navy game—accommodated 70,000 football fans; it did not have a baseball diamond. Various other fields were just that—fields, with a few rows of simple wooden bleachers behind each bench. Then there was Bugle Field, a 6,000-seat wooden park in East Baltimore owned by Joe Cambria of the Bugle Coat, Tie and Apron Company.

Though Bugle Park offered the logical place for fielding a “colored” team, it was ridiculous in size next to the rentable ballparks in East Coast cities that claimed major-league franchises. Yankee Stadium seated 67,000 fans, Brooklyn’s Ebbets Field 32,000, Philadelphia’s Shibe Park 33,000, and Washington’s Griffith Stadium 37,000. The black leagues in Brooklyn and Philadelphia benefited similarly from the large populations and lucrative gates; they were stadium rich. In Brooklyn Dexter Park held 15,000, and in Philadelphia Parkside Field 20,000.¹ Being able, if need be, to rent larger fields enhanced ownership of a black franchise outside of Baltimore.

Black teams elsewhere also had successful white booking agents. Eddie Gottlieb of Philadelphia acquired control of the Philly Stars from Ed Bolden in 1935. Before long Negro teams of top professional caliber had to hire him if they wanted to play in Philadelphia, Baltimore, or any place in-between.² White booking agents served

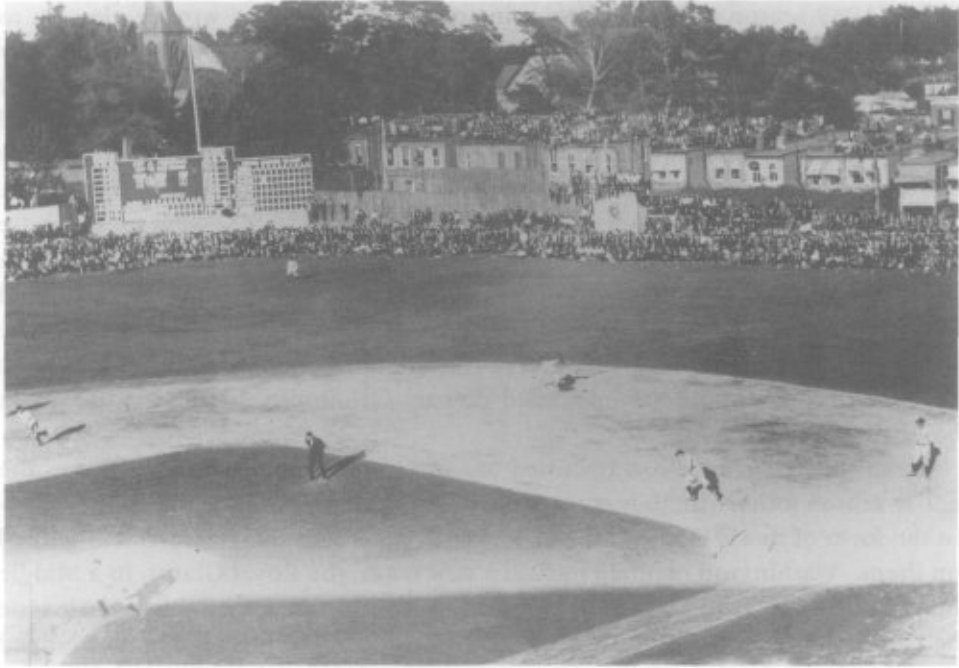
This piece draws upon Mr. Leffler’s master’s thesis, which he completed at Morgan State University in 1974. He now heads one of Baltimore’s leading advertising agencies.

as middlemen for black teams; many white park owners would not negotiate with black team owners like Nat Strong, Cum Posey, and Gus Greenlee. Gottlieb's hold on such cities as Baltimore, Philadelphia, Harrisburg, Wilmington, and Washington (where he operated with Douglas Smith) cost black and white team owners alike a percentage of the gate if they could not promote the games themselves. In cities with a locally owned black franchise, team owners did not feel the same pinch unless they needed the use of the white ballpark and happened to be black. A city without a team was at the mercy of the booking agents in terms of black baseball promotions. If in June, for example, the Homestead Grays and Philly Stars played a game in Oriole Park before only one thousand fans, Gottlieb likely would drop the city from "major league" promotions for a long time. In 1936 and 1937 Gottlieb and Smith controlled the baseball season, arranging games for Bugle Field and Oriole Park according to local fan interest. This straight business approach left baseball fans to the whims of finance. They needed a local sponsoring group—of either race—either to recreate the Black Sox of old or attract a new team.

The Nashville Elite Giants, founded in 1918 by Nashville gambling casino owner Tom Wilson, had been a vagabond team since 1935, first claiming Griffith Stadium and then in 1936–37, without changing their name, scheduling a number of games in Baltimore.³ There they were at the mercy of booking agents. Only a permanent, bona fide tie to the city would permit Wilson, a black owner, to establish a business edge. As always fan interest and the involvement of community-oriented persons were important factors in luring a franchise. Since there was no black financial support for resurrecting the Black Sox, a local individual had to step forward and lead a civic effort to bring the Elite Giants to Baltimore. Such a leader appeared in a young black Social Security Administration employee, Richard D. Powell.

In 1936 Powell began to rally black Baltimoreans like members of the Frontiers Club behind the Nashville team and open a search for a Baltimore park it could call home. First Powell measured black philanthropic potential and community spirit; he had no desire to set up a chancy business arrangement with another white-owned team, especially given Baltimore's ballpark poverty. He and other backers aimed to woo a prospective franchise mover with promises of loyalty and consistent community support.

Powell spent the 1936 and 1937 seasons courting Wilson's Elites by having them invited to home-cooked meals and overnight stays with local fans (ballplayers usually stayed at the humble York Hotel on Madison Avenue and ate their meals at segregated restaurants). Powell also convinced Wilson and his business manager, Vernon Green, to establish Maryland residency—despite the fact that Wilson's income derived from his secretive gambling base in Nashville. Finally Wilson announced that the team would move to Baltimore for the 1938 season.⁴ Smith, meanwhile, attempted to rent Oriole Park for the team's home games. The prospect of a black team playing a number of night games in their neighborhood riled white residents of Waverly, however; they petitioned the Oriole management to deny the Elites' request.⁵ Though black teams had rented parks in Baltimore



Old Oriole Park at Greenmount and 29th Street. Babe Ruth at first base, 1930. (Babe Ruth Museum.)

since 1874, the Orioles went along with the wishes of their neighbors and put the Elites out. Wilson and Smith naturally turned to Bugle Field. Cambria's business managers agreed to lease the field through the Elites' first season.

The year went smoothly for the Elites, and by play-off time the Orioles invited them to use Oriole Park after all. All major competition from Washington ended early when the Washington Black Senators of the National Negro League collapsed. The Elites were then able to make up for the tiny capacity of Bugle Field by occasionally being the home team at Griffith Stadium. They enjoyed that role on 10 August, when the Baltimore team hosted the Pittsburgh Crawfords before eleven thousand fans. Local semi-pro teams—the Monumental Elks, who played at Bugle when the Elites were away, or Dr. Joseph Thomas's "Original Baltimore Black Sox," a local nine from Turners Station—provided little financial worry for Wilson, Powell, and Smith. Only touring interracial softball teams like Joe Louis's Brown Bombers and a white team known as the Dr. Peppers provided the Elites notable competition. They played exhibition games, mostly in Washington.⁶

In 1938 baseball in Baltimore varied, but there were fans enough to support all of it. Black baseball was just beginning a boom that would last until around 1944, and signs of this upturn were much in evidence. Semi-pro teams in the Baltimore-Washington area then included the Elks, Original Black Sox, Maryland Black Sox, Anacostia Athletics, and Oxon Hill Aztecs. Such interest predicted a bright and burgeoning future for black baseball in Maryland.

The 1939 season, however, began in controversy. Wilson won re-election as NNL president, but black newspaper columnists like Sam Lacy of the *Baltimore Afro-American* and Art Carter decried the sport's lack of community interest under Wilson as well as the league's general inefficiency. Newark's Abe Manley wanted Wilson's job and was disgruntled when he did not get it. Gus Greenlee decided to disband his Pittsburgh Crawfords, a team that had been a backbone of the league. Plans for a dramatic season opener at Yankee Stadium on 14 May went sour because the Crawfords were supposed to have played. Alex Pompey, well known Harlem gambling lord, and his New York Cubans tried to force entry into the NNL, and Manley's wife Effa opposed admission bitterly. A Toledo man named John Grigsby bought the Crawfords' contracts and moved them to Ohio, the league finally let Pompey in, and league affairs settled down. Columnists began writing about baseball as a game again.⁷

Meanwhile the Elites had obtained use of Oriole Park for Sunday games the entire season (otherwise they continued to play at Bugle Field) while their rivals—in the form of newly created “major leagues” from old semi-pro circuits—gained on them. Washington planned to field a new team, the Royal Giants, in a Middle Atlantic League. John H. Griner, a local white insurance man, established a league he called the Negro American Baseball Association; Dr. Joseph Thomas helped conceive the Negro International League. Although Griner's league and the Royal Giants lasted only for a month, Thomas's team and league did better, providing the Elites stiff competition the entire season.⁸

As the 1939 season got underway, fans of the Negro National League and its competitors may well have noticed interesting events beyond the parks. In Germany Hitler blustered with talk about the “master race.” The Daughters of the American Revolution denied African-American singer Marian Anderson permission to hold a concert in Constitution Hall, basing their decision on the District of Columbia segregation statutes. On the other hand, state senator Charles Perry, a New York City Democrat, sponsored a resolution in the New York legislature calling for the admittance of blacks to major-league baseball. The resolution passed and went to the baseball commissioner, Judge Kenesaw Mountain Landis, who side-stepped it with non-committal verbiage.⁹

Maybe hints that the majors might soon be integrated accounted for the Elites' dramatic increase in attendance that year. In early June the Elites drew 12,500 fans at Yankee Stadium. The splinter leagues faltered. Dr. Thomas deserted the International League because of cheating on gate shares. The Belleville (Virginia) Grays' owner Bishop H. Z. Plummer charged the Royal Giants with expense padding in order to cheat on the gate split. The Elites continued to draw good crowds in Baltimore, and the climax came in September when 7,500 enthusiasts went to Oriole Park for the first games of the playoff series with Newark. Later that month Baltimore defeated Pittsburgh's Homestead Grays for the NNL title, 15,000 people showing up for the game at Yankee Stadium.¹⁰

The season was a turning point. It ushered in a dramatic rise in black- baseball interest, yet it also marked the beginning of the end for the sport. During the war

years, blacks were called upon to work together with whites in many efforts. President Roosevelt had involved blacks in his administration to a degree earlier unheard of. Urban blacks (who increased in numbers during the war) were fascinated by the prospect of any upward mobility, and they viewed baseball as possibly the lowest attainable rung on the ladder of integration. In the short run, however, black baseball exhibited tremendous vitality, and Baltimore offered a splendid example.

The 1940 Negro National League season began with the usual controversy over the loop presidency. Tom Wilson won again, but the black owners showed new militancy by removing the hold of Gottlieb and Saperstein. Effa Manley's politicking moved Saperstein out of the picture and greatly limited Gottlieb's authority to book games on the league's behalf.¹¹ Fresh competition from other leagues threatened to cut into the NNL gate if fan interest declined at all.

Dr. Thomas renewed his efforts at league organizing. This time, the circuit was the Interstate League, and the team was called the Edgewater Giants for Edgewater Park in Turners Station. Thomas made plans to enlarge Edgewater Park to seat two thousand people under roof and tried to build the legitimacy of his team by attracting civic leaders to the home opener. A bi-racial cast of dignitaries—including Baltimore Mayor Howard Jackson, who threw out the first ball—came to the Giants' first game. Two thousand others also attended the interracial affair as the Giants defeated the Heurich Brewers, the white, national semi-pro champions. Other competition for the Elites came from Washington in the form of a franchise move. The Homestead Grays left Pittsburgh permanently at the beginning of the 1940 season and stayed in Washington until they disbanded in 1948.¹²

Not to be outdone, however, the Elites in June 1940 promoted a game to benefit the Chick Webb Memorial Recreation Center (the nationally prominent jazz drummer had died in his native Baltimore a year earlier). Sponsored by Dr. Ralph Young and billed as "Baltimore's Biggest Baseball Day," the game with the Black Yanks drew five thousand fans to Oriole Park and raised \$6,000 for the building of the center. Theater celebrities and jazz stars helped highlight the promotion.¹³

Despite the Edgewater and Washington teams, the Elites' crowds at Oriole Park were consistently good throughout the rest of the 1940 season. A Sunday doubleheader drew four thousand fans in mid-July; five thousand people came in mid-August for a four-team doubleheader. Even on the road, the Elites drew enviable attention. In late July New York Mayor Fiorello LaGuardia and twenty-five thousand others saw the Elites and Grays at Yankee Stadium. Baltimore could support both its major black teams at the same time. On a Sunday in July when the Elites were battling the Philly Stars before four thousand at Oriole Park, the Edgewater club filled its park to its two-thousand capacity for a game with the Oxon Hill Aztecs.¹⁴

Crowds and promotional efforts increased in 1941. The Newark Eagles opened their season before fifteen thousand fans at Ruppert Stadium, and the same number saw the Black Yanks' opener at Yankee Stadium, with LaGuardia throwing out the first ball. After opening at Oriole Park before six thousand cheering

partisans, the Elites and Grays took their show to Harrisburg the next day and drew another thousand to Island Stadium (where Mayor Russell T. Tuckey threw out the first ball). At Edgewater, Dr. Thomas had gone completely "big-time," hiring the veteran NNL manager Ben Taylor to run his team and booking the Brooklyn Royal Giants for his home opener. In late May he brought the world-famous Ethiopian Clowns to Baltimore for a date at Edgewater. Again, overflow crowds of two thousand showed up at each event. The climactic draw came at Comiskey Park in Chicago, where more than fifty thousand people came to watch the annual East-West All-Star game. The Elites stretched enthusiasm into October before heading south for the winter. In the final of a series of exhibition games, they beat the Oriole All-Stars (white members of the minor-league Orioles) before five thousand fans at Oriole Park. The fact that black team owners squabbled little that year gave some indication of their financial success.

Sadly, it was short-lived. In the spring of 1942 a throng of fifty-five hundred saw the Elites' opening game at Oriole Park as "Baltimore Sportsman" Willie Adams threw out the first ball.¹⁵ A fight at the end of the game resulted in minor damage to the park, however, and that one act, more than any other, eventually spelled the Elites' doom. Bugle Field, where they had to go, rested on land of considerable commercial value—more than what the team paid for a ten-year lease agreement. At Edgewater Dr. Thomas overreached himself, changing the name of his team to the Baltimore Grays and booking a game with the Chicago American Giants, the soundest, longest-running franchise in black baseball history. The Grays' victory over Chicago was at once their zenith and the beginning of their decline, for they had lost much of their local appeal by going "big-time."

Throughout the remainder of 1942 and continuing into 1943, Baltimore continued to support its NNL and NAL teams. Crowds of thousands commonly jammed into Bugle Field. Mayor Theodore McKeldin, always late, became a fixture as a first-ball tosser at Elites' openers. Even the practice of players jumping to Mexico (as did Baltimore's Tom Butts and Roy Campanella) seemed not to hurt the game's popularity. When in 1943 the wartime office of defense transport prohibited special bus travel for black teams, they rode trains and temporarily discontinued the practice of barnstorming. (The end of barnstorming may have added stability to the game; training at home, players and fans were more likely to develop a pre-season identity.)¹⁶

Attendance of 8,000 at the opening-day game between the Elites and the Grays at Griffith Stadium bespoke the black league's continuing popularity. When the same two clubs played at Bugle Field next day, the crowd of 3,000 included Mayor McKeldin, late as usual. During the season teams from the East (NAL) and West (NNL) began raiding each others' rosters, and astute owners like Cum Posey advocated a single league for the survival of black baseball. But a mid-season attempt at this solution by way of inter-league play proved ineffective; teams were doing too well. With crowds as high as 20,000 at Griffith Stadium, the Grays, for example, showed a figure of 125,000 total attendance at the mid-way point of the 1943 season. The annual East-West All-Star game in Chicago's Comiskey Park had

a record turnout of 51,000 paid attendance.¹⁷ In truth, wartime fuel shortages and forced use of public transportation favored professional baseball clubs. Wartime conditions forced semi-pro and marginal professional leagues out of business, for trolley cars and bus lines simply did not go to out-of-the-way parks in small Negro enclaves. Owners in the organized black leagues had a golden opportunity to build for the future.

The 1944 season began with no sign of decline in black sport. Before seven thousand people at Bugle Field, the Elites celebrated the return of drawing cards Roy Campanella and Pee Wee Butts from Latin America. McKeldin took the mound for the inaugural toss to Police Commissioner H. R. Atkinson (Atkinson promptly hit the ball into right field). The next night eight thousand more came to watch a game with the Homestead Grays. In cities with major-league stadiums, the throngs were even greater; fifty-eight thousand saw a Black Yanks game at Yankee Stadium and twenty-six thousand paid to see the Elites and Cubans at Briggs Stadium in Detroit. Ironically enough, the biggest problem for the Elites in 1944 was the burning of Oriole Park, home of their chief rivals in Baltimore, the International League Orioles. Elites general manager Vernon Green expected the white club to try to force the black team out of Bugle Field (Green had no binding agreement for the park's rental). The savior in the situation proved to be McKeldin, who offered the Birds use of the Municipal Stadium on 34th Street. Ill-suited for baseball, the stadium was still more attractive to the Orioles than seven-thousand-seat Bugle park.¹⁸

League squabbling and player jumping continued to plague both of the major Negro leagues throughout the season. There was no collapse this time, as in 1929–30, but institutionalized troubles only got worse. In June 1946 Bill Wright of the Elites jumped to the Mexican League, claiming that he gained a \$6,000 raise over his Elite salary of \$3,000.¹⁹ Three Puerto Rican players quit the Elites after fighting with second-baseman Jim Gilliam. Green fined Gilliam \$50. In its deal governing the use of Bugle Field, the club remained at the mercy of the Joe Cambria interests.

Then there was the effort to integrate professional baseball. In 1941 Doc Prothro, manager of the Philadelphia Phillies, had said publicly that the team signing the best blacks would dominate baseball for a decade. Such sentiments, whatever their motivation, only fueled the movement for baseball integration. Branch Rickey's engineering of the Brooklyn Dodgers dominated the 1945 season. His construction of an entire league—the United States League—as well as his team—the Brooklyn Brown Dodgers—aimed to place a black onto his white Dodger team. When Rickey held a try-out for two veterans of the Negro leagues, Terry McDuffie and Dave Thomas, at Bear Mountain, New York, hopes among blacks rose higher. The entire season seemed preparation for the signing in 1946 of Jackie Robinson. Anticipation of that event began to draw attention away from the black version of the sport. Finally, on 30 March 1946, the color line fell as Robinson played for the Dodgers against the Montreal Royals in spring training at Daytona Beach, Florida. The Elites worried about Roy Campanella, their most valuable property. When he



Bob Clark and Roy Campanella deep in conversation during a 1940s photo opportunity. (Babe Ruth Museum.)



Ernie Burke, Amos Watson, and Jose Perreira warm up during spring training at Sulphur Dell ballpark in Nashville, 1947. (Babe Ruth Museum.)

signed with Rickey and went to the Dodgers' farm club in New Hampshire, their worries were over (and they got no compensation for him).²⁰

Jackie Robinson, playing his first two regular-season games in "organized baseball," drew 16,133 (capacity) at Delorimier Park in Montreal and 30,000 (capacity) at Roosevelt Stadium in Jersey City. With Campy gone, the Baltimore Elite Giants opened the season at Bugle Field against the Homestead Grays, playing before a mere 6,729 fans, including McKeldin. Not that the Elites lost popularity during the 1946 season; rather, they played ball on a scale that became more and more difficult not to compare with the overwhelmingly white majors. The Elite Giants played the Grays at Griffith Stadium before 12,000 fans and the Philly Stars at the Polo Grounds before 14,000. The combination draw for the East-West All-Star game between Washington and Chicago was 62,000.²¹ Baltimore black baseball continued popular among its fans in the late 1940s if only because no Negroes played on Baltimore's International League Orioles.

By the end of 1947 fan apathy, loss of players to the majors, chaotic league conditions, and lack of owner planning (the Elites' redoubtable Tom Wilson died in May of that year) were beginning to spell the end of Negro baseball. Only cities with strict segregation or good black ballparks or both could survive as hotbeds of African-American baseball. To understand the sport's final chapter in Baltimore one must remember that the city was an anomaly—a Northern/Southern place steeped in segregation and long lacking a major-league club. Fan interest in the Monumental City's local teams was irrepressibly high.

The black press typically disdained black-baseball management. In 1948 Wendell Smith, then sports editor of the Pittsburgh *Courier*, complained of black owners like Mrs. Effa Manley deserting the sport "now that times are bad." At the end of the 1949 season, when Cleveland's black team folded, newspaper columnist Marty Richardson shed a tear, but not for the owners.

Unlike some of my contemporaries who accepted a load of good, hard cash from Negro league club owners to fight against the entrance of colored players into the majors, I have been very much attached to the Negro leagues as a necessary thing. The colored leagues . . . represent an institution which could give colored fans good baseball without subjecting them to the Jim Crow turnstile. . . . Here is what is killing Negro baseball: lack of support, bad faith with the public by the owners, indifference to the players, over-eagerness to turn a fast buck, mismanagement, generally. . . .

Richardson doubted that the entry of blacks into the majors was killing the black leagues, which, he also believed, had the positive effect of drawing people away from playing the numbers. R. S. Simmons in the Chicago *Defender* called for preserving Negro baseball as "the goose that lays the golden eggs." "If Negro baseball dies," he declared, "there are no other means of preparing Negro players for the majors." In Pittsburgh Jack Saunders argued that it was exactly the high caliber of play in the black leagues which fueled the integration of organized

baseball. Still others predicted a revival in black baseball after 1950, when, they predicted, the magic of integration would wear off.²²

Bill Gibson of the *Baltimore Afro-American* was always critical of Eastern-League teams and watched the yearly organizational machinations with great amusement. His colleague Sam Lacy saw the situation from the governing economic perspective. After 1949 Baltimore's biggest problem was the lack of a ballpark, and Lacy realized that the Elites' shaky finances prevented the team in 1950 from renting the new Memorial Stadium.²³

Financial structure and the erosion of fan support had become problems common to most black teams. West Coast black baseball, always isolated because of the high cost of travel, had no rivals in major-league franchises in the immediate postwar years, but they nonetheless quit league action when stars like Johnny Ritchey signed to play in the previously all-white Pacific Coast League.²⁴ Even the Cleveland Buckeyes, a team with its own ballpark (seating thirty thousand), could not compete with integrated teams for fan support. In 1948 the Cleveland Indians won the World Series while drawing 2.5 million customers to giant Municipal Stadium. Many of them were black, for the team's owner, Bill Veeck, rejected Jim Crow. Blacks were welcome at the park, and two of the team's leading members, Larry Doby and Satchel Paige, were African Americans. Badly in debt (served with a summons at home plate during pre-game ceremonies on opening day), the Buckeyes' owner took himself and the team to play in segregated Louisville.²⁵ By 1950 other teams with proud names such as the Homestead Grays, New York Cubans, Newark Eagles, and Brooklyn Royal Giants were either dead or had moved south to segregation. The only strong clubs to remain after 1951 were the Kansas City Monarchs, Chicago American Giants, Indianapolis Clowns, Philly Stars, Birmingham Black Barons, and Atlanta Black Crackers. These teams played a mostly barnstorming schedule and as late as 1961 attempted to keep alive the East-West game in Chicago. For most northern and border cities, however, black baseball was no longer a regular event after 1950.

With Wilson's death and Vernon Green's move from general manager to owner, running of the Elite Giants fell to the same Dick Powell who in 1938 had helped attract the Nashville team to Baltimore. Powell had an interest in the community and a belief in the fan support in Baltimore. Coming off of the golden years of local black baseball, 1942–47, Baltimore was in a good position to support a black team for several years to come. Besides the quality of the team and the relatively good location of the park, the city had the dubious asset of being still virtually segregated. Possibilities of seeing blacks in big-league uniforms were limited to eleven appearances of the Cleveland Indians in Washington each year, and eleven appearances of the same club in Philadelphia against the all-white Athletics. The Phillies could offer eleven appearances of Jackie Robinson and his integrated Brooklyn club. The International League Orioles remained all white and had Jim Crow ticket policies on a discreet basis at Municipal Stadium. That left Baltimore's black fans with the pleasant prospect of watching future big-league stars such as Jim Gilliam and Joe Black perform in the comfortable surroundings of homey

Bugle Field, now nearly twenty years old. There was still plenty of local enthusiasm for the team. Bob Elmer, a former assistant to booking agent Eddie Gottlieb, remembered a 1952 promotion between Satchell Paige's All-Stars and the Indianapolis Clowns at Westport Stadium. "We were down at the ticket windows at 4:00 P.M. for a game that was to start four hours later," in Elmer's memory. "All I remember is selling tickets and taking money so fast that the dollar bills were falling out of my pockets. The final gate for the game was over seven thousand."²⁶

The *Afro-American* account of the game and the activity of such teams as Yokely's All-Stars, with Laymon Yokely still pitching, demonstrated strong interest in the game. Perhaps the best baseball in town (Dick Powell later so argued) had, in fact, been played by blacks or between the Elites and barnstorming major-league whites.²⁷ Why, then, in view of this evidence of vitality, did the city lose its regular Negro league representative after the 1951 season? The answer, as usual, lay with finances, lack of community interest on the part of the owners, and the absence of planning and organization.

Blame for the team's end in Baltimore cannot be placed on Powell. Though he never owned the club, he tried after Wilson's death to develop some permanence in the lease on Bugle Field. His dealings with Matt Rheinholt, the former Oriole Athletic Club boxing promoter who managed Bugle Field, were strictly year-by-year arrangements. Worried about the possible sale of the land and the threat of ouster (going back to 1944, when the parkless Orioles were looking for a home), he was always assured by Rheinholt that no one would ever want the land and, if the park were on the auction block, that he would be notified in plenty of time to search for a new home. On the other hand, Powell's efforts to convince Green either to buy the property or attempt to acquire land for a permanent park also were futile. "I asked Vernon every year to either buy Bugle Field or buy some land," Powell recalled later. "I even hired an architect to draw up some plans for a combination park and recreation center. He wouldn't go for the idea, though, probably because he was interested in immediate money and he thought the sport was dying."²⁸

With Green's death in 1949 Powell received power of attorney from Green's widow and assumed virtual control of the club for the 1950 season. His long-term dreams for the club did not include occupying Bugle Field. "I wanted to develop a park-rec center," he later said, "and have a semi-pro club that played good enough ball for black fans who were Jim Crowed here and in Virginia and the Carolinas. I wanted to develop players and sell them to the majors. By 1950 though," he continued, "we needed to have a park and some prosperity for a few years for me to carry this off."²⁹

The park became the rub for Powell and the Green family. In August 1949, without warning from Rheinholt, the Galloway sisters sold the property to the Lord Baltimore Press. The Elites, with their best team ever (including Black and Gilliam), were winning the 1949 league pennant and were allowed to finish the season in the park. The day after the campaign was over, however, wreckers moved on the old wooden stadium and ended the Elites' residence there forever.³⁰ During

the winter of 1949–50 bulldozers cleared another Baltimore site, Municipal Stadium, which literally was plowed under to make way for the construction of a conventional all-purpose park—supposedly roofed—for both football and baseball. Sans roof, the new park was ready with nineteen thousand seats in the lower deck by the beginning of the 1950 season.

Called Memorial Stadium and controlled by the Baltimore City Park Board, it was supposedly open for the rental of any organization that needed it. The Elite management, totally parkless by late April, approached the board seeking rental of the new facility for Sunday games when the prime tenant, the International League Orioles, were on the road. Powell recalled the meeting and the subsequent first game in the stadium:

They [members of the park board] didn't know who we were or acted like they didn't. They figured that I wouldn't show and that they could just pass on by our request and deny it without us there. I went in with sheer muscle, though. Dr. Bernard Harris didn't want us to use the stadium. He was afraid there would be trouble and that our [black community's] image would be hurt. I had to tell them that we had been in Baltimore for more or less fourteen years and had had a successful operation. We got the stadium and there wasn't any trouble. They had monitors there to make sure we didn't tear up the place. Afterward, they said that we were the best behaved crowd they had seen there in a while.³¹

Financial arrangements for the Elites were nonetheless devastating. They were charged a flat rental of \$1,000 per date plus 20 percent of the gate receipts. The Orioles paid seven cents per head flat rate. The Elites, playing their first game in the stadium, drew a gate of 10,115. If the Orioles had drawn that crowd, they would have paid little more than \$700. The Elites' bill came to more than \$3,000. Sam Lacy decried this discrimination, but park board officials were determined to hold to it for the remainder of 1950 and 1951 as well. Faced with a dilemma, Powell turned back to Rheinholt, who knew of some open land (also owned by the Galloway sisters) in Westport on the edge of Cherry Hill. On a hillside next to the then-rural Old Annapolis Road, Rheinholt in mid-April began constructing an earthen and concrete stadium to accommodate five thousand persons. Later known as Westport Stadium, the park would cater specifically to the Elites and barnstorming black teams, much as had the city's old black parks, Bugle and Maryland Park.³²

Completion of Westport Stadium in time for the May 1950 slate of Elite home games saved the club from either hitting the road or going broke on 33rd Street, but it was no panacea. Westport's location, back near the original pioneering area for Negro baseball parks, posed fans a transportation problem. Unlike the original Westport Park of 1918, which advertised street cars direct to the Bush and Russell Street location, the new park was hard by the side of narrow, unlighted Annapolis Road. It was a dangerous walk from the most southerly Baltimore Transit Company bus stop in Westport. The Baltimore and Annapolis Railway buses charged



The Baltimore Elite Giants, 1949 Negro National League Champions. (Babe Ruth Museum.)

a full round-trip fare to Annapolis of fifty cents for their runs, which left Baltimore and Charles streets and stopped at the park on their way to Annapolis.³³

The problems of the club and its changing role as an organization kept Powell hopping throughout the 1950 season. Westport, which Rheinolt thought "good enough for Negroes," had no infield grass; a constant wind stirred up the grit. Players, who received a percentage of the gate rather than a regular salary, struck for more, but Powell had no extra cash. Typically for a Negro-leagues owner, he thought of the team as a nursery for players destined for the majors (recall that the team had earned nothing for releasing Campanella in 1946). Alex Pompey, owner of the Cubans in New York, trained players for his Polo Grounds landlords, the New York Giants. Powell's relations with the integration-minded Brooklyn Dodgers improved after the National League club paid him \$10,000 each for Joe Black and Jim Gilliam following the 1950 season. He even employed a player whom the Dodgers had released from probation in North Carolina. A stint with the Elites served as his rehabilitation before he was allowed to try out for the Brooklyn club.³⁴

In order to pump more money into the organization, Powell promoted his team and special pre-game attractions more than had any Baltimore Negro-team owner since George Rossiter of the ill-fated Black Sox. One such promotion, a resounding success, was the game between Satchell Paige's All-Stars and the Elites. The Elites' young ace pitcher, Tom Coleman, was to oppose Paige himself for at least three innings, saving nothing for later in the game. More than five thousand fans flocked to the dusty South Baltimore bowl, proving that interest in the club was still

considerable. In 1950 Sunday baseball at Memorial Stadium had to average attendance of ten thousand to break even, and it did. A year later, with the Elites spending most of the season on the road (like Rossiter's 1931 Black Sox, who also had ballpark problems), Powell staged a pre-game old-timers affair for the benefit of Provident Hospital. With the game scheduled for Memorial Stadium and old Black Sox favorites such as Yokely and Jud "Babe Ruth" Wilson featured in the pre-game exhibition, two thousand fans paid their way in. "They were interested in the Elites and Memphis," Yokely remembered, "but I got the feeling that they were happy to see us. Pitching on that nice field made me feel like I came along too early."³⁵

By the end of the 1950 season the Green family back in Nashville was interested in unloading the team while it still had some value. Local Baltimore interest in purchasing the Elites existed only in the person of Eddie Leonard, the white Howard Street restaurateur. When the Green-Leonard deal fell through, William S. Bridgeforth, former owner of the Nashville Stars of the Negro Southern League, purchased the club. Bridgeforth operated the club through Powell, mostly as a road club with occasional appearances in Baltimore, through the 1951 season.³⁶

The team left Baltimore for good in 1951, surviving for one year as the Nashville Elite Giants. Powell, his ideas for Baltimore Negro baseball finished, came back to the city and resumed his job with the federal government. Thereafter in Baltimore the sport was confined to a few remaining barnstorming teams that played occasionally at Westport Stadium under Gottlieb's auspices.

Studying black baseball in Baltimore means unmasking "philanthropy," black and white, and noting the hard nature of business dealings in a spectator sport. Before Wilson's purchase of the Elites, white owners of Baltimore black clubs had run them much the way Wilson and Powell did—never owning the parks they played in and worrying only marginally about fan comforts or convenience. Owners of these clubs, black or white, used promotions for institutions such as the Chick Webb Recreation Center or Provident Hospital to expose fans to the club, draw greater crowds, and generate community good will. However laudable, such events were part and parcel of the baseball-business venture. Wilson's refusal to purchase land for a park was in the same class with his Black Sox predecessor's allowing old Maryland Park to deteriorate. It represented common-sense business logic when applied to a questionable asset, the owning of a Negro baseball team.

How wide and deep was enthusiasm for the game? Black-community support for baseball surfaced in the many black-enclave clubs that played on the fringes of the organized game—teams like the Edgewater Giants of Turners Station and the Catonsville Social Giants. Yet long after the Elites folded Powell had complained to sportswriter Sam Lacy that Baltimore African Americans never had truly galvanized around his black franchise.³⁷ Powell's organization of community leaders to attract a franchise was itself a fleeting phenomenon—brief if effective. The degree to which whites joined blacks in attending games is open to dispute, but whites supported the clubs more noticeably before World War II, in the days of white team ownership. For whites, going to see the Elites was something like seeing

the Globetrotters in the mid-1950s, when the National Basketball Association was largely made up of white players. For blacks the Elites (and Black Sox before them) of course offered much more than entertainment, for places like Bugle Park brought pleasant escape from the embarrassments of Jim Crow. Fans could sit where they wanted to, bring food into the park, and be relieved of the name-calling that was a part of a trip to an Oriole game. At bottom Baltimore's black-baseball fans liked good baseball, and the results of black-white exhibition games in the period of segregation (most of them won by blacks) left no doubt of the quality of play in the black leagues.

Perhaps the most important truth to come out of this study is the richness of the black pastime itself. As the professional game, played by both races, tends to become stiffer and more characterless (with the architectural exception of Oriole Park at Camden Yards), one can only harken back to the descriptions of the great days of the black sport. Beer in the ballpark, informal dress, fans greeting regular seat neighbors, and the spectacle of powerful, unorthodox athletes such as Satchell Paige and Josh Gibson (who once hit eighty-nine home runs in a season), remind present-day fans of what a natural, delightful piece of entertainment Negro baseball was.³⁸ It is ironic that the progressive, integrated world might never again provide a naturally attractive social experience to equal Negro baseball.

NOTES

1. These figures are based on a summary of quoted capacities in the *Baltimore Afro-American*, 1929 through 1936, and the *Cleveland Indian Yearbook*, 1957 edition.

2. Author's interview with Arthur G. Toll, nephew of Eddie Gottlieb, at Toll's home in Norristown, Pennsylvania, 5 April 1972.

3. James H. Bready, *The Home Team* (Baltimore: Moore and Co., 1959), p. 82.

4. Author's interview with Richard D. Powell, former general manager, Baltimore Elite Giants Baseball Club, at Powell's home, Baltimore, 14 January 1971.

5. *Afro-American* (National Edition, Washington, D.C.), 2 April 1938.

6. *Ibid.*, 17 September 1938. See also *Baltimore Afro-American*, 8 August, 30 August, and 10 September 1938.

7. *New York Age*, 27 August 1938; *Toledo Blade*, 6 May 1939.

8. *Baltimore Afro-American*, 1 April 1939; *Philadelphia Afro-American*, 6 May 1939.

9. See *Baltimore Afro-American*, 27 May 1939.

10. *New York Age*, 10 June 1939; *Afro-American* (National Edition, Washington, D.C.), 3 June 1939; *New York Age*, 20 September 1939.

11. *New York Age*, 2 March 1940.

12. *Baltimore Sun*, 13 April 1940; *Baltimore Afro-American*, 18 May and 8 June 1940.

13. *Ibid.*, 22 June 1940.

14. *New York Times*, 24 July 1940; *Afro-American* (National Edition, Washington, D.C.), 27 July 1940.

15. Author's interview with Powell, 14 January 1971.

16. *Baltimore Sun*, 13 March 1943; *Baltimore Afro-American*, 10 April 1943.
17. *Baltimore Afro-American*, 1 and 22 May 1943; *Baltimore Evening Sun*, 29 May 1943; *Afro-American* (National Edition, Washington, D.C.), 24 July 1943; *Chicago Defender*, 7 August 1943.
18. *Baltimore Afro-American*, 17 June and 8 July 1944.
19. *Ibid.*, 27 June 1946.
20. *Philadelphia Evening Bulletin*, 10 June 1941; *Baltimore Afro-American*, 31 March 1945; *New York Times*, 14 April 1945; *Baltimore Afro-American*, 30 March 1946; *Baltimore Sunday American*, 5 May 1946.
21. *Baltimore Sun*, 11 May 1946; *Baltimore Afro-American*, 24 August 1946.
22. Quoted in *Baltimore Afro-American*, 27 June 1946. See also *ibid.*, 17 September 1947 and 25 June 1949; *Pittsburgh Courier*, 4 September 1948; *Cleveland Call and Post*, 8 July 1950.
23. *Baltimore Afro-American*, 14 October 1950.
24. See *Los Angeles Sentinel*, 30 May, 18 July, and 12 September 1946.
25. *Cleveland Call and Post*, 23 July and 13 August 1949.
26. Author's telephone interview with Sam Lacy, sports editor, *Baltimore Afro-American*, Baltimore, 11 January 1971, and with Robert P. Elmer, former booking agent of Eddie Gottlieb in Baltimore, at offices of the Baltimore Clippers, Baltimore Civic Center, 14 November 1973. See also author's November-December 1970 survey of thirty-five former fans of both races who attended Elites' games. Principal question dealt with the reasons for the Elites' moving from Baltimore after the 1950 season; some respondents added comments dealing with the actual experience of attending a Negro-League game at the time.
27. *Baltimore Afro-American*, 27 July 1952; author's telephone interview with Richard D. Powell, former general manager, Baltimore Elite Giants, at Social Security Administration, Baltimore, 12 January 1971.
28. *Ibid.*
29. *Ibid.*
30. Author's interview with Lacy, 11 January 1971.
31. Author's interview with Powell at Powell's residence, Baltimore, 14 January 1971.
32. *Baltimore Afro-American*, 14 May and 14 October 1950.
33. Author's interview with Powell, 14 January 1971.
34. Author's interview with Lacy, 11 January 1971, and Powell, 14 January 1971. See also Fresco Thompson (Brooklyn Dodgers vice president) to Richard D. Powell, 1 May 1951, in Powell's possession, and Louis Ressin's response to survey questionnaire (dated 3 December 1971) dealing with Elite Giants' collapse. Ressin was a fan of the Elites from 1944-50.
35. Author's interview with Powell, 14 January 1971, and with Laymon Yokely, former pitching star of the Baltimore Black Sox, at Yokely's shoeshine parlor, Pennsylvania Avenue, Baltimore, 2 December 1970.
36. *Pittsburgh Courier*, 23 June 1951.
37. Author's interview with Lacy, 11 January 1971.
38. See n. 26.

The Dowager of 33rd Street: Memorial Stadium and the Politics of Big-Time Sports in Maryland, 1954–1991

JAMES EDWARD MILLER

In 1991, notwithstanding a mediocre season (67 wins, 95 losses) and a team that finished sixth in a weak American League East, the Baltimore Orioles set an all-time attendance record. Management looked forward to 1992 certain that no matter how the team fared on the field, the franchise would set new records for attendance and profitability.

The magic recipe was simple. In 1991 the Orioles exploited fan nostalgia for an aging dowager, Memorial Stadium. In April 1992 the club would move into a beautiful new park provided by the citizens of Maryland. The new stadium would offer fans excellent views of the playing field together with a magnificent prospect of Baltimore's Inner Harbor and reconstructed central business district. It would also feature more expensive seating, costlier parking, and higher-priced food and drink. The new stadium—whose name, Oriole Park at Camden Yards, represented a compromise between the team and state of Maryland—was a perfect symbol of the national trend toward a partnership between local government and for-profit sports.

Both the city and the club stood to profit handsomely from an arrangement that developed largely by accident and was founded on the city's possession of a major-league quality municipal stadium. Without Memorial Stadium the city of Baltimore would never have attracted the franchise, and yet the stadium was converted to a major-league baseball park in the least expensive means possible, using construction techniques that were out of date at the time of building. By the 1960s Memorial Stadium seemed—to the Orioles management at least—obsolescent. Other cities were building "state of the art" facilities in an effort to attract big-league sports franchises. Replacement of Memorial Stadium thus became a major issue in city and state politics, as governors, mayors, and legislators reluctantly faced an unpleasant reality. They had to provide the state's two major-league franchises—the baseball Orioles and football Colts—with new or greatly improved facilities or accept their loss to competing cities.

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The new one-level Memorial Stadium, 1949. (Babe Ruth Museum.)

The Birds and Colts were important to Baltimore far beyond their entertainment value. Baltimore's political and business leadership had sought big-league sports since the end of World War II, which, by heating up the city's economy, pulled more poor blacks into Baltimore in search of work. After the war, middle-class whites had accelerated their flight to the suburbs. With them went industry, jobs, and a large proportion of the city's tax revenues. Like many major American cities, postwar Baltimore appeared to be collapsing into poverty, crime, and racial division. Anxious Baltimore civic leaders hoped to attract new investment through a coordinated plan of improvements to the city's physical face and image. Attracting professional sports to Baltimore was part of their program of giving the city a "major league" image. Major-league teams would revitalize sectors of the local economy, be a source of civic pride and entertainment, and provide the sort of image that attracted new investment.¹

Fortunately for Baltimore's city fathers, major-league franchises were available. In 1953 the bankrupt Dallas Colts of the National Football League (NFL) transferred to Baltimore. Four years later, the hapless St. Louis Browns of baseball's American League moved East to avoid bankruptcy. In both cases the availability of a major-league stadium was Baltimore's major selling point. Browns owner Bill Veeck later admitted that he would have preferred to move to the West Coast, but neither Los Angeles nor San Francisco had an adequate stadium.²

In Baltimore in 1947 the city had built a single-level, minor-league stadium designed for rapid conversion to a two-tier ball park seating 50,000. The initial investment was a big success for the city. By 1950 Baltimore had made a profit of



Putting the upper deck on Memorial Stadium with the expectation of a major-league team, 1953. (Babe Ruth Museum.)

\$329,659 through rent and its control of concessions. And yet attracting major-league sports was an expensive proposition. In 1953, with the Colts in the corral and the Browns tantalizingly close to a move, the city had to appropriate \$2.5 million for improvements to the park. An additional investment of \$5 million in 1953–54 built the two-tiered stadium that was key to major league approval of the Browns' move.

Baltimore was euphoric. Veeck had sold out to local owners and the new team's management, temporarily headquartered in the Southern Hotel, was swamped with requests for tickets.

The euphoria soon evaporated. On the playing field the 1954 Orioles were simply another edition of the Browns. Attendance rapidly dropped as the team plunged deep into the second division of the American League. Then the Orioles negotiated a lease that gave them a major cut in stadium food and parking sales, drastically reducing the city's prospects for revenue.³ Simultaneously Memorial Stadium became embroiled in the first two of a series of controversies that marked its thirty-eight years as a major-league park.

One of the league's conditions for transferring a franchise to Baltimore was permission to sell beer at baseball games. The decision of the city's liquor board to permit beer sales at a municipal facility, even under carefully controlled circumstances (sales were not permitted in the stands), roused intense protests from church and temperance groups. Beer sales at a publicly owned facility remained a thorn in the side of the city government until the 1960s, when the attention of social conservatives finally concentrated on other issues.⁴

The other, more significant and long-term issue was African-American attendance at Orioles games. Baltimore had a well established record of segregation



The new American League Orioles parade through Baltimore on Opening day in 1954. (Ted Patterson.)

and racial prejudice. Its fans had heaped abuse on Jackie Robinson when he played for the minor-league Montreal franchise. Local civil rights leaders had openly challenged the major league decision to move the Browns, arguing that racist Baltimore did not deserve a franchise. After the city acquired its team, Baltimore's rapidly expanding black population stayed home. The Orioles (and major-league baseball) encouraged this absence with a promotional policy that pointedly excluded advertising directed toward blacks. For more than thirty years blacks' disaffection with team racial policies, together with concerns about physical safety, strictly limited their attendance at the ball park. Even during long stretches of poor attendance, the Orioles showed little interest in winning this potentially important source of fan support. Although the neighborhoods east of Greenmount Avenue and south of Memorial Stadium became heavily black, attendance at Orioles games remained mostly white. Team officials evidently feared that the presence of large numbers of black customers would discourage wealthy suburban whites and their inner-city blue-collar brothers from attending Orioles games.⁵

The initial stages of the city-team relationship were also marked by a slowly dawning realization among many members of the business elite that major-league sports were an expensive drain on the public purse and that they failed to return any real economic benefits. Although the team provided a fairly large number of low paying, part-time jobs, it created very few full-time employment opportunities. Local merchants, who had expected to cash in on a steady flow of customers into



Fans pack Memorial Stadium in the mid-1950s. (Babe Ruth Museum.)

their shops, discovered that most fans headed directly to the stadium and spent their dollars at concession stands. Restaurants, hotels, newspapers, public transportation, and even taverns enjoyed only marginal gains in income.⁶

Meanwhile the club began pressing the city for improvements at Memorial Stadium and its environs. The issue of stadium upgrading was the one constant in city-team relations for the next thirty years. Jack Dunn III, the Baltimore native whose family had been involved in Maryland minor-league baseball for a half century, served as a major-league official for thirty-five years. "One of the non-correctable items here" in Baltimore, he recalled,

and perhaps the biggest is that we do not have the same number of box seats or choice seats that the Yankees have. In other words they're getting top dollar . . . the take is so much greater in Yankee stadium because they have so many choice seats. And there's really not much we can do because of the poll situation here. . . . The upper deck was added for another \$2 million and for another \$2 or 3 million the upper deck could have been cantilevered. But there was so much doubt that they would pass the money to build the upper deck that they were afraid to go for the extra \$2 million. . . . If we had

been able to cantilever it at that time . . . it would have made a great difference in the amount of quality seats they could put in the stadium.⁷

The Orioles first request for improvement, made in 1955, was for an increase in the number of parking spaces available in the vicinity of the stadium.⁸ By 1957 both the Colts and the Orioles were pressing the city for improvements to Memorial Stadium seating.

Mayor Thomas D'Alesandro, Jr., was ready to respond favorably but could only partially meet club requests. Additional parking was impractical because the stadium was located in a densely built-up residential area. D'Alesandro convinced the city council to appropriate \$550,000 for major improvements to the stadium to prepare for Baltimore's first (and to date only) All-Star Game. When the city turned to the club for a matching contribution, it received an answer that became customary during the following years. The club, Orioles president James Keelty wrote, could not afford to improve its physical environment. Its scarce financial resources were already appropriated for player development.⁹

By 1957 the city had absorbed losses of approximately \$750,000 in the first three years of the Orioles' Memorial Stadium tenancy. Nevertheless D'Alesandro was convinced that the investment of an additional \$1.25 million in public funds was money well spent. The Orioles, he wrote, gave Baltimore an improved national image, provided a recreational outlet for thousands of the city's citizens, and were an essential part of a larger plan for urban renewal.¹⁰

Cities that intended to retain their major-league franchises were under heavy pressure from team owners either to improve existing parks or replace them with new stadiums. Baseball Commissioner Ford Frick told the *New York Times* that any city that wanted big-league baseball needed a modern, publicly owned stadium. He set up an owners' committee to study the status of major-league stadiums while hinting that expansion and further franchise moves were likely. Speaking to *U.S. News and World Report*, Orioles executive vice president William Wallsingham noted that an increasing number of women and children were attending baseball games, stressing the need for facilities—improved seating, restrooms, access—that would attract and retain these new fans.¹¹

Baltimore held on to its franchise despite poor attendance and years of bad play as a result of the efforts of D'Alesandro and the civic-minded businessmen who made up the club's board of directors. Support for the team remained strong among city business and government leaders, who continued to believe that the Orioles provided Baltimore with a positive image throughout the United States. The business community supported Orioles requests for further improvements in stadium seating. D'Alesandro's successor as mayor, Harold Grady, continued to provide key political support for the team. In 1962 he played a leading role in the campaign backing a \$1.2 million recreation loan designed to upgrade the stadium.¹²

Continuing city spending maintained Memorial Stadium as an acceptable if not "modern" park during the 1960s and 1970s—a boom period for the building of

new municipal stadiums. Most were sterile concrete bowls of the so-called "multi-purpose" design that "graced" middle-American cities like Pittsburgh, Cincinnati, Atlanta, and San Diego. A growing number of them were domed. With the first of these enclosed "facilities," Houston's Astrodome, came a new type of field surface, a plastic covering placed over concrete and generically designated "astro-turf." Domed stadiums and astroturf virtually guaranteed the end of the "rainout," thus ensuring team profits. They also radically changed the look and feel of the game. In addition, the turf did major harm to the athletes. As a player ran, jumped, and slid on the combination of plastic and poured concrete, he damaged knees and generally shortened his career.¹³

The stadium-building frenzy inevitably aroused interest among Baltimore's professional sports teams. Attendance was an issue of increasing interest to the owners of both the Colts and Orioles. While the football franchise was playing to full stadiums, it had only eight annual games in which to make its profits. The Orioles, four-time American-League champions and twice winners of the World Series between 1966 and 1971, failed to draw.

In the fall of 1967 Colts owner Carroll Rosenbloom opened up a public-relations campaign apparently designed to force the city to build a new stadium. Rosenbloom's initiative reflected his growing disenchantment with his native city and a realization that his opportunities for profit were extremely limited. In effect he was setting the stage for an eventual franchise move. The country was in the midst of the economic downturn created by the war in Vietnam. President Lyndon Johnson's policy of waging war without wage and price controls had created a combination of inflation and economic stagnation that undercut the city's ability to finance major repairs to Memorial Stadium, much less build a new home for its professional sports teams. The cost of a new stadium, estimated at \$100 million, was far beyond the city's capacity in the best of times. While Rosenbloom talked of a new home, the city was hard pressed to meet its commitment to improve Memorial Stadium lighting. The Orioles' new owner, Jerold Hoffberger, recognized this and limited himself to requesting improvements to the existing stadium.¹⁴

The upshot of the Rosenbloom initiative was a nasty public squabble between the Colts' owner and the head of the city's public parks board, Douglas Tawney. For the first time, the city, in the person of Tawney, said *no* to the demands of one of its professional sports teams.¹⁵

In an effort to meet Rosenbloom half way and hold on to its professional football franchise, the city prepared to make major new investments in Memorial Stadium. By January 1968 city leaders, including Tawney, were talking about the possibility of refurbishing Memorial Stadium, even adding a dome to cover the rebuilt structure. The city hired a New York consulting firm to study plans that would modify the dowager of 33rd Street.¹⁶

The consultants' final report offered the city a series of options running from \$5 million in "limited" improvements to an \$18.5 million "modernization." (The cost of doming Memorial Stadium was not included in these estimates.) Baltimore's new mayor, Thomas D'Alesandro III, chose the least expensive option, noting that

the city simply did not have the money to adopt any other proposal. Without help, Baltimore could do no more than maintain the existing stadium.¹⁷

Help arrived from the governor of Maryland, Marvin Mandel. A Baltimore machine politician with a well earned reputation for getting things done, Mandel entered the governor's mansion in 1969, when his predecessor, Spiro T. Agnew, assumed the vice presidency. Mandel watched the evolving stadium controversy with concern. While many Baltimore politicians were inclined to discount Rosenbloom's threats of a franchise shift, Mandel had a better reading of the Colts' abrasive owner. As Rosenbloom's frustration grew, he began to quarrel not only with city leaders but with Orioles owner Hoffberger. Rosenbloom was angry because the Orioles had a more favorable stadium contract, including clauses that gave the baseball club a cut in the Colts' concessions income. When the city sided with the Orioles on an issue of stadium use, Rosenbloom responded with a law suit and publicly lambasted both the city and the Orioles. By February 1971 Rosenbloom was again threatening to move the team to a new stadium in suburban Maryland.¹⁸

While Baltimore civic leaders preferred to ignore Rosenbloom's latest outburst, Mandel decided to intervene. In April 1971 the governor summoned representatives of the Colts, Orioles, and the city to Annapolis for a meeting. He pledged state involvement in the resolution of the stadium issue.¹⁹

Mandel's intervention fundamentally changed the nature of the stadium debate to the long-term advantage of the Orioles. The governor moved the issue from the local to state level and at the same time put the question of replacement of Memorial Stadium with a state-of-the-art facility on the front burner. Mandel's actions also complicated the issue, since a political decision to build a new stadium would require the agreement of the General Assembly. Proponents of a new stadium would have to line up support throughout the state.

The difficulties inherent in creating state-wide sympathy for Baltimore's special problem quickly became evident. During the 1972 legislative session, Mandel pushed through a bill establishing a Maryland Sports Complex Authority with power to build a new facility in the Baltimore area. That project appeared to face smooth sailing. The angry Rosenbloom departed for Los Angeles after swapping his Colts franchise for the Los Angeles Rams; the Colts' new owner, Robert Irsay, at first seemed less confrontational. By the summer of 1972 the sports authority had arranged a meeting between Irsay and Hoffberger in which the two men laid out their individual requirements. Further meetings with Orioles and Colts officials followed, focusing on possible sites for a new facility and rehabilitation of the old stadium.²⁰

In February 1973 the sports authority issued its final report, which effectively ruled out modernizing Memorial Stadium (it would cost \$91 million) and estimated the cost of a new multi-purpose domed stadium, located at Camden Yards in the redeveloped center of Baltimore, at \$114.1 million. Irsay enthusiastically supported the second idea. Hoffberger said he could accept either outcome.²¹

The issue then became a simple one: who would pay? In approving the sports-authority bill, the assembly had insisted that state funds not be utilized in new construction. Baltimore, hard hit by recession, had nothing to offer.

The sports authority's solution was the sale of bonds. Mandel endorsed this plan, as did both major-league teams. The Colts and Orioles also applied pressure with hints, discrete and open, that they would have to move the teams if something was not done to provide them with a more suitable home. Neither team was willing to sign a binding, long-term agreement with the sports authority without written assurances that it would get a new park. Without these signatures, the authority refused to request a bond issue. With state and teams deadlocked, the idea of a new stadium was shelved.

The standoff continued for nearly a decade. Meanwhile the Orioles' position both on the field and in the counting room became perilous. The introduction of free agency in 1975 deprived the team of a number of its best players. The costs of retaining key veterans rose astronomically. "The one thing we had to recognize, and I think we did it immediately," remembered Hank Peters, Baltimore's newly installed general manager,

was the precedent setting contract. . . . It affects all clubs. . . . At the end of the '76 season . . . a pitcher by the name of Bill Campbell . . . was drafted by the Red Sox . . . and about twenty-four hours later they announced that he had signed a five-year, \$1 million contract [that] knocked us all for a loop. It set a precedent. . . . The snowball started to roll.²²

The Orioles were plagued by poor attendance and burdened by a small television market. Faced with these difficulties, club officials increasingly viewed a new stadium, with its potential to attract more fans, as a critical element in maintaining the club's fiscal health. In late 1974 Hoffberger first warned that he could not continue to operate in Baltimore without a modern stadium. Club officials repeatedly laid out their list of economic woes as they pressed the state for assistance. Baltimore's civic and political leaders began to take both Hoffberger and the quixotic Irsay at their words. Lacking the economic or political muscle to build a new facility, Mayor William Donald Schaefer concentrated on modernizing Memorial Stadium on an ad hoc basis and offered the two teams extremely favorable terms for their continuing use of the stadium. In effect, the mayor was turning the Orioles and Colts into partners in the management of the facility and committing the city to accepting losses accrued in running Memorial Stadium. These deficits rose from \$71,444 in 1974 to a staggering \$730,894 by 1977.²³

Two incidents demonstrated the generally negative popular reaction to the mayor's moves. Less than a year after Hoffberger warned that without a new stadium he would be forced to move, Baltimore voters turned out in low numbers to approve a referendum denying the city authority to use public funds in building a new stadium. A year later the city parks board turned down a request by the Colts to raise parking fees in public lots. During a tense public meeting held at the Colts' request, one board member punched a Colts official.²⁴

In the face of public indifference, the state's leading politicians continued their efforts to ensure that both clubs remained in Baltimore. Mandel again took the lead. In late 1974 the governor became aware that Hoffberger had decided to offer the club for sale. A primary concern was that baseball-starved Washington, D.C., would abscond with the team. While Baltimore coped with economic hard times, a number of wealthy syndicates were looking to "recession proof" Washington as an ideal spot to relocate the attendance-poor Orioles. Fortunately, Hoffberger shared the resentment (if not the feeling of inferiority) toward Washington which was common to both Baltimore's civic elites and its working masses. He declined to sell to Washington groups and urged local buyers to come forward. When none did, Mandel began backing the bid of the Browns' last owner, baseball legend Bill Veeck. Veeck, whose forte was building attendance, seemed the ideal man to anchor the Orioles in Baltimore; he, moreover, was impressed with Memorial Stadium's potential and with the rental terms the city offered. Consummating the sale proved difficult, however. While Veeck had a wealth of experience in running a successful club, he was always chronically underfinanced. If Mandel was going to save the franchise for Baltimore through Veeck, he would first have to convince the Maryland House of Delegates to fund the prospective buyer.²⁵

Mandel, whose political influence had slipped as a result of the personal scandal created by his divorce, lacked the weight to carry along a skeptical state senate. Without the backing of the state, Veeck, in turn, could not convince Hoffberger to accept his weakly financed buy-out offer. The Orioles' owner, clearly unimpressed with any of the prospective bidders, suddenly pulled the team off the block.

The failure of Veeck's bid and Mandel's growing legal and political troubles ended another effort to resolve the stadium problem. Both teams recognized that a new facility was out of the question for some time to come. Each sought to improve the terms of its Memorial Stadium lease. The city responded to these pressures by investing in a series of improvements in the physical plant and by granting both teams improved stadium contracts.²⁶

The late 1970s were clearly not the right time for another try at building a new facility. The United States economy, damaged by the oil shock of 1973, had not fully recovered when in 1978–79 the collapse of the Shah's regime in Iran plunged the nation, and Baltimore with it, into a renewed recession. Both the Colts and Orioles concentrated on winning further improvements in their existing stadium contracts. Mayor Schaefer made these concessions, but they did not offset the rising costs of running a club for Orioles owner Hoffberger. By late 1978 he again began actively seeking a buyer for the franchise. In August of the following year Hoffberger stunned Baltimore's civic elite and fans by announcing the sale of the club to Edward Bennett Williams, the celebrated trial attorney and—to the horror of most Baltimoreans—embodiment of the Washington insider.

Williams pledged to keep the Orioles in Baltimore, but he also began agitating for a new park. City leaders, with Mayor Schaefer as their spokesman, politely put that idea in the deep freeze. The city could not afford the expense, and state's new governor, Harry Hughes, was properly skeptical about the idea of seeking General

Assembly funding for such an enterprise. Williams bided his time but kept his demand on the table.²⁷

While unwilling to appropriate money for a new stadium, state leaders were determined to keep both professional teams in Baltimore. Continuing complaints from Irsay and Williams's lobbying resulted in new legislation offering major improvements in the existing park in return for signature by both owners of fifteen-year leases. Irsay, who had already begun to shop for a new home for his team, initially refused to meet the state's conditions. He then delayed giving a final response, dragged out negotiations, and finally rejected the deal.²⁸

Irsay's refusal to deal undercut efforts to win state support for either Memorial Stadium improvements or the building of a new facility. Schaefer found it difficult to round up support for further stadium spending. In March 1983, when legislators finally granted the mayor's request for cash to improve the situation on 33rd Street, they took revenge on Irsay. The General Assembly approved funding to meet Williams's request for stadium improvements but denied any backing to the Colts owner.²⁹

Irsay had clearly worn out his welcome in Baltimore and, indeed, had been looking for a way to move his team. Though irked by Irsay's maneuvers, city leaders had been confident that the National Football League would block a franchise relocation. Then in the winter of 1983–84, a federal judge ruled that Oakland Raiders owner Al Davis had the right to move his club in spite of a league veto. Irsay wasted little time. He again strung along state and city leaders while secretly arranging a deal with Indianapolis. In the middle of the night of 28–29 March 1984 a string of moving vans loaded up the Colts' files and equipment and headed west.

Astonished Maryland politicians found themselves without an important element of the local identity. Suddenly the nature of the stadium debate changed. City and state political and business leaders no longer questioned whether to provide the Orioles—who had won the 1983 World Series—with an expensive new home. The real issue was the site of the new ballpark.

The primary contenders in this struggle were Mayor Schaefer and his likely challenger for the 1987 Democratic gubernatorial nomination, state attorney general Stephen Sachs. Governor Hughes appointed a consultants group to study sites and their potential costs. Schaefer, who insisted that the new park be inside the city of Baltimore no matter the cost, appointed his own consultants group. The mayor was convinced that a new stadium placed near the Inner Harbor renewal project would mean major profits for the city and its business community. He also may have seen the stadium (and the retention of the Orioles) as the capstone of his fifteen years as leader of the effort to rebuild Baltimore.

With the exception of a small and politically irrelevant group representing the merchants and residents of the Memorial Stadium neighborhood, the city's political and business establishment rallied to the mayor, throwing their considerable weight behind the idea of building the stadium at Camden Yards, a decaying industrial

park located on the edge of the Inner Harbor project and strategically placed near two of the major access roads to the city.

Stephen Sachs exploited the mayor's Camden Yards plans to build support within Baltimore and the state at large. With the support of much of the city's African-American leadership, he argued that Schaefer's insistence on the most costly alternative was typical of the mayor's tendency to ignore the needs of the inner city. Instead of funding schools, public transportation, and improved health for the poor, argued Sachs, Schaefer would concentrate scarce resources on a project of interest to Baltimore's white elite. Sachs warned state voters that the Camden Yards project was a typical example of Schaefer's parochialism. Maryland, Sachs insisted, would be subordinate to Baltimore if it elected Schaefer. He shrewdly noted that a stadium built outside Baltimore not only would cost less but would virtually eliminate the possibility of a rival franchise in Washington and permit the Orioles to increase their drawing power in the nation's capital.³⁰

Edward Bennett Williams seized opportunities with customary shrewdness. While Irsay had gone out of his way to irritate the state's leadership, Williams had carefully cultivated it and made a consistent display of civic concerns. With stadium construction assured, the Orioles owner skillfully maneuvered to build a ballpark that met his requirements while avoiding endorsement of either the Schaefer or Sachs plans. In a January 1986 letter to Governor Hughes, Williams pledged to sign a long-term lease for use of the new stadium and laid out his claim to a major role in the design of the new ball park.³¹

While city and state leaders were ready to give Williams a new park, the General Assembly took nearly two years before finally approving the new facility. The contest between Schaefer and underdog Sachs heated up, inducing cautious politicians to hedge on a final decision on sites. At the same time governor and assembly engaged in a constitutional struggle over control of the membership and powers of a state sports authority. Under Hughes's plan, the state—operating through an independent sports authority—would assume responsibility for the construction, maintenance, and operations of the new ball park. Since a majority of state legislators still opposed the use of tax revenues to finance the park, the governor turned to special "sports lotteries" to provide the estimated \$125 million in cash required to build the new stadium.³²

State lawmakers wanted to limit the independence of the sports authority and to have a major say in its membership. After a months-long confrontation, the two sides reached a compromise that increased legislative oversight while conserving the governor's right of appointment.

With these issues resolved the assembly passed a revised sports-authority bill, the governor appointed members of the authority, and appointees wisely awaited the outcome of elections before deciding on the site for a new stadium. When Schaefer triumphed in both the primary and general contests, the issue of the site was effectively settled. The sports authority dutifully ratified Schaefer's selection of Camden Yards.

If the former mayor of Baltimore won the battle over site selection, Edward Bennett Williams got something more. Following a growing trend in stadium construction, the Maryland Sports Authority recommended putting up two facilities in the Camden Yards area. One would be built if Baltimore acquired a professional football team. The other would be a baseball-only park, essentially designed by the Orioles and estimated to cost \$105 million. Construction of the new stadium began in the winter of 1989–90. State officials had nervously monitored the project as the cost of land acquisition rose; the Orioles and their contractors were able to bring the construction portion of the project to completion at cost.³³

Meanwhile, the Orioles, with their customary skill, were exploiting nostalgia for the old park and the mix of curiosity and enthusiasm that surrounded the imposing new stadium to sell tickets. One successful approach reminded prospective season-ticket holders at Memorial Stadium that possession of a season package was the only way to assure good seats in the new ball park.

The profitability of the Orioles, in turn, cemented their relationship with the city and state. The city, managing the stadium under terms of a deal negotiated with Williams, had become a partner with the Orioles and shared handsomely in the club's profitable seasons. As majordomo of the stadium, the state could look forward to similar profits. The Orioles' success in building a new baseball stadium on highly favorable terms was a model that other clubs watched with interest. In addition, possession of the stadium and a highly favorable rental agreement were two factors raising the value of the Baltimore Orioles to stratospheric levels. The club that Williams bought for \$12 million in 1979 sold for approximately \$70 million after his death in 1988. By the winter of 1991–92 the new majority owner, Eli Jacobs, reportedly was asking for \$200 million for his club.³⁴

During the Memorial Stadium years, the Orioles created one of baseball's most competitive and profitable franchises. Despite a series of mediocre teams, fan support has remained enthusiastic. Possession of a new stadium should keep the Orioles profitable for the immediate future. Ultimately, their ability to maintain what appears to be an artificially high market value will be determined by on-the-field performance and by baseball's ability to deal with rising player salaries and potentially declining television income. In spite of a number of major questions, the Oriole Park era begins on a highly positive note for the franchise.

NOTES

1. Author's interview with Jack C. Dunn III, Baltimore, 5 June 1986. See also *Baltimore* 48 (January 1955): 68; *Newsweek*, 15 March 1954.
2. Bill Veeck and Ed Linn, *Veeck—As In Wreck* (New York: Signet, 1962), p. 307.
3. Armstrong to D'Alesandro, 25 April 1950, Orioles Baseball Team file, Thomas J. D'Alesandro, Jr., Papers, Baltimore City Archives (hereafter BCA).
4. *Baltimore Sun*, 19 October 1953, 19 February 1954.

5. *New York Times*, 8 April 1954. See also Jules Tygiel, *Baseball's Great Experiment* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1983), pp. 122, 219, 313.

6. "Baseball Is Big Business," *Baltimore* 47 (July 1954): 12-13, 35; *Business Week*, 9 October 1954.

7. Author's interview with Jack Dunn III.

8. *Sporting News*, 19 January 1955.

9. *Sun*, 28 July, 3 August, 18 September 1957; *Baltimore Evening Sun*, 27 July 1957; *Sporting News*, 7 August 1957.

10. Tawney to Wilson, 19 September 1957, Memorial Stadium, Department of Parks and Recreation file, D'Alesandro, Jr., Papers, BCA; "Is Big League Baseball Good Municipal Business?" *American City*, 72 (November 1957): 111-13, 162. For D'Alesandro letter see *ibid.*, (January 1958): 7.

11. *New York Times*, 3 January 1958; *U.S. News and World Report*, 8 April 1958.

12. William Boucher III to Grady, 6 October 1960, Memorial Stadium, Department of Parks and Recreation, Grady-Goodman Files, BCA; *Sporting News*, 24 November 1962.

13. *Sun*, 24 January 1964, 9 December 1965, 28 December 1966.

14. *Evening Sun*, 4 October 1967. *Sun*, 23 October 1967.

15. *Sun*, 10 December 1967. *Baltimore News-American*, 10 December 1967.

16. *News-American*, 21 January 1968.

17. *Ibid.*, 21 January 1968. See also James Edward Miller, *The Baseball Business: Pursuing Pennants and Profits in Baltimore* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1990), p. 203.

18. Eddinger to D'Alesandro, 16 September 1971, World Series, D'Alesandro III Files, BCA; *Sporting News*, 28 August 1971. See also Miller, *Baseball Business*, p. 203.

19. *Sun*, 4 April 1971.

20. *Sun*, 4 April and 4 November 1971, 28 March 1972.

21. Maryland Sports Complex Authority, Final Report, Feasibility Study, 21 February 1973, Sports Complex Authority, Maryland State Archives.

22. Author's interview with Henry J. Peters, Baltimore, 10 June 1986.

23. *Evening Sun*, 22 July 1976, 12 March and 2 September 1977; *Sun*, 12 November 1976, 2 March 1977.

24. *Sun*, 17 June 1976.

25. For details see Miller, *Baseball Business*, pp. 206-12.

26. *Sun*, 27 February, 9 April 1976. *Evening Sun*, 22 July 1976 and 12 January 1977.

27. *Sun*, 20 December 1979, 2 December 1980.

28. *Sun*, 8 March, 11 April 1980, 16 March 1982. *News American*, 23 November 1981.

29. *Sun*, 10 February, 8 and 17 March 1983.

30. *Washington Post*, 16 and 27 October 1985.

31. *Sun*, 30 January 1986.

32. See Miller, *Baseball Business*, pp. 299-300, for details.

33. *Sun*, 5 December 1986 and 22 April 1990; *Washington Post*, 20 May 1990.

34. *Washington Post*, 16 December 1991.

Research Notes & Maryland Miscellany

The Early History of Amateur Base Ball in the State of Maryland¹

WILLIAM RIDGELY GRIFFITH

The Early History of Base Ball in Maryland

"Old times are changed, old manners gone."

On Sunday, June 6th, last, about five o'clock in the afternoon, in Druid Hill Park, Baltimore City, that most beautiful of all parks, if nature be more beautiful than that which is nearly all the creation of man, there could be seen seated on one of the benches that overlooked *The Lake*, three of the merchants of Baltimore, who, at the same time, could boast of being three of the oldest Base Ball players in the United States. All were Marylanders born; but one, although connected with the early days of the game in Brooklyn, New York, yet had lived and merchandised for so many years in the Monumental City, and besides was such a good fellow altogether, that even those who knew the facts, were willing to assert, that he must have lived *always in this, the best City in the world*.

The three seemed much interested in the conversation held, if their happy faces were a true index, for tale after tale was being told of the early days, and games of Base-Ball, in the sixties, and back of even that date in the history of the Great National Game. The writer, one of the three, pointing his finger to near the centre of *The Lake*, made use of these words: "Do you see out there, well down under the surface of the water, about seventy feet, is the ground upon which was played in the State of Maryland, the first game of Base-Ball."

The writer has undertaken this work for many reasons:

1st. Forty years about have passed since the first game of Base-Ball was played in Maryland. It is a long time, and but few remain of the *Dear Old Boys*, (excuse calling them so, for the sight of even one of them, brings back the happy days of [the game] and besides many of them ride their *bikes*, and show [illegible] signs of appreciation and admiration, that will not allow them to be classed *quite yet*, "*as old men*," the *pioneers* in this State of the Great National Game, and if history is to be written and records of the past preserved, *it must be done at once*.

2nd. The writer has not gone to this work with any such idea as that *he alone* can accomplish, but because *others* think *he* should, and that *he* is the proper party to undertake the same. He is aware of the great difficulties before him in this attempt to delve into the past before the time when even newspapers took interest enough to publish, and record *facts*, which are now almost forgotten by many of the *pioneers* even, until some one recalls. Nor does he expect to *resurrect all the facts*, or to remember the names of *all* of those he has called the *pioneers*; it is too late, the books of the Old Excelsior, Waverly, Maryland and Pastime Clubs have been lost, and he begs all those whose names may be omitted, to remember that this is not a record of members of different clubs, but a statement of historical facts of the Great National Game in the State of Maryland.

3rd. The *pioneers* who are left are as jealous of the records of the *past*, as each and every *brilliant member* of the present Baltimore Club is of its record. If Captain Robinson and his men fly a Championship Flag, *which they deserve*, the members of the Old Pastime Club, formed in 1861, by the consolidation of the Excelsior and Waverly Clubs, can point with pride to the title bestowed from all sections of the country, viz: "*A Club of Gentlemen.*" If the Baltimore's present record is one that *all are proud of*, and the *pioneers* even more than any others, yet they feel obliged, out of respect for memories of the past, to point to their belt, from which hangs the scalps of the Mutuels, Haymakers, Stars, Nationals, and many of the very greatest clubs of the day and generation of the *pioneers*. Nor can Captain Mike Hooper, and others of the Old Maryland Club, organized in 1861, fail to stand up to-day for the splendid record of that Club. You were a hard worker, Mike, and to you must be given the credit for The Maryland winning the Silver Ball Championship of 1867: the first time your club ever held it.

4th. The *pioneers* make no claim to have been the equals, in their day, of the present professionals; it would be impossible to make a comparison, for all things were so different; but they do object to such statements, as "The scores being larger, therefore poor playing." The ball used in the early sixties was about one-third larger, and one-third heavier, than the present one, and besides was what is known as a "lively ball," and for these reasons harder to hold. They had *Pitchers*, not *Throwers*, and as the ball must be delivered with the arm, and hand parallel with the body, of course the speed was much less, and the batter, instead of being obliged to use a part of his strength in overcoming the force of the present thrown ball, spent all in "hitting them out." As the athletes of forty years ago were, beyond question, equally as muscular with those of the present day, the ball went to the fielders with greater force and speed, *and there were no gloves in those days*. If any of our *Professional Players* doubt this, the *pioneers* invite them to show how the score could have been kept down. Put Robbie behind the bat, but first take away his breast protector, mask, and *that glove*, which looks as if made to fit a foot-ball, and with the ball of the sixties, let him take fly-tips, as did Joe Leggett in his day. Take that great barn-door glove off of Jack Doyle, and gloves off all the nine, and place them upon the stony, uneven grounds of those days; you will acquit yourselves with credit, gentlemen, for you always do, but the *pioneers* guarantee that with the old

ball and a pitcher, your scores will be much larger than at present. The writer does not wish by the above to take in the least from your great honors, for you have no warmer friends than *The Pioneers*, but he does wish to put things before the public in a proper light to correctly judge the facts that are to follow.

1858 and 1859

Excelsior B.B. Club, of Baltimore City.

President—Hervey Schriver, of Schriver Bros.

Secretary—Edward G. Pittman.

Mr. George Beam, of Orendorf, Beam & Co., Wholesale Grocers, corner of Baltimore and Howard Streets, visiting New York City in 1858, was invited by Mr. Joseph Leggett, of the old wholesale grocer firm of Leggett & Co., to witness one of the games of the *Old Excelsior Base Ball Club, of New York City*. Mr. Beam became so much enthused, that on his return to Baltimore City, and during his visits on business to Exchange Place, Commerce and Gay Streets, Smith's and other wharves, where the importing and wholesale grocery business was at that date concentrated, it resulted in the organization of the Excelsior B.B. Club. The first meeting was held in 1858, in the office of Messrs. Woods, Bridges & Co., on Commerce Street, a large number of those present being Merchants of the Wharf, to use a designation of long standing. Mr. Hervey Schriver, of Schriver Bros., was elected President, and Mr. Edward G. Pittman, Secretary, and they both continued in office during the three years that the club existed. The almost entire membership of the club was composed of business men, as will appear from the list herewith contained, and they were at the time, and afterwards, among the most prominent of Baltimore's merchants. As appears from Map No. 1, the club first practiced and played at what was then known as "Flat Rocks," which is now under the surface of the large lake at Druid Hill Park. The stone wall on the Madison Avenue side of Map No. 1 was erected by the Old Cemetery Company, that had formerly owned that part of the grounds near Madison Avenue and the lines of the Brooks property; but due to litigation, I think with Mr. Rogers, the former owner of most of what is now known as Druid Hill Park, the company vacated the property, and the bodies were removed to Greenmount Cemetery. The old [vault] shown in Map No. 1 was the family vault of ancestors of Captain William C. Penington, President of the Baltimore Fire Insurance Company, and who was President of the Old Pastime B.B. Club in 1868, and played on its nine for many years at first base. The Mount Vernon Hook and Ladder Company's building on Biddle Street, near Ross Street, had a second-story room that was rented for meetings, and here the Excelsior Club met during the years 1859 to 1861, *the extent of its existence*. An omnibus twice a week, Wednesday and Saturday afternoons, would wait at or near the corner of Exchange Place and Commerce Street, take up the members engaged in business in that section, and pick up members in business or residing *up town*, on its way to "Flat Rocks," and as it passed out Madison Avenue, large numbers of young men

living in that section of the city, would follow to see THE NEW GAME. The Excelsior B.B. Club practiced and played at "*Flat Rocks*" only a short time, a few months, when it moved to the vacant lot on the southeast corner of Madison and Boundary Avenues, as shown by Map No. 2, and as now occupied by the Church, and Bartz' Restaurant and grounds. The score book of the club having been lost, and the old members having no recollections of any games played in 1859, except with the Potomac Club of Washington, D.C., it is quite probable that the time was devoted to practice. In 1860 the club invited the great Excelsior B.B. Club, of New York, to visit, and instruct them in the game. This invitation was accepted, and the Waverly B.B. Club, organized in 1860, offered their grounds, afterwards known as "*The Pastime Base-Ball Grounds, Madison Avenue*," upon which the game was played.

THE NINES OF THE EXCELSIOR CLUBS OF NEW YORK AND BALTIMORE.

NEW YORK	BALTIMORE
C.—Joseph Leggett.	P.—Beam.
P.—Creighton.	C.—D. Woods.
1st B.—Pearsoll.	2d. B.—Shriver.
2d B.—Whitney.	R.F.—A. Woods.
3d B.—Flannery.	C.F.—Mitchell.
S.S.—	S.S.—Pittman.
L.F.—Asa Brainard.	L.F.—Williams.
C.F.—Polheimus.	3d B.—Hank.
R.F.—	1st B.—Hazlett.
Score.	Score.

It was not thought that the Baltimore Club had *the least show to win*, it was to be a game of instructions; and if remarks even at this late day, from those who saw the game, be at all true, it was a magnificent exhibition of Base-Ball on the part of the Excelsior of New York. It was no wonder that it was so, for all their nine were enthusiasts, and among their number were some of the VERY BEST of Base-Ball players the country has ever seen. Joe Leggett, catcher, the first to ever take fly-tips close behind the bat, and *no breast protector, no mask, no gloves*, truly he was the *father* of catchers. Creighton, a magnificent pitcher, and the old pioneers talk of him to this day. Asa Brainard, do you remember him as the great pitcher of the Cincinnati Red Stockings, that held the *Professional Championship* for five years[?] Oh, there were some good players in that day, and the early sixties, gentlemen, even if you will not acknowledge it, and spite of the fact that Ferguson, *the great Ferguson*, did say that "The Pastime B.B. Club of Baltimore, was the greatest amateur Base-Ball Club the United States *ever saw*." Was the *great Ferguson* a judge or not? Deny him, and you turn down one of the *very greatest players* this country ever saw. After the game the Excelsior Club, of Baltimore City, gave at Guy's Monument House to their friends from New York, a magnificent supper that cost nearly \$700. The Excelsiors, of Baltimore, played the National or Potomac, of Washington, D.C., in 1860, but no record of the game exists, the score-book being lost, and during the same year played with other clubs. In 1861 they received from the Waverly Club,

of Baltimore, organized in 1860, a challenge, and placed their second nines against them; the Waverly defeated them with ease, and immediately challenged the first nine of the Excelsior, and defeated it worse than the second nine. This last defeat caused in part the consolidation of the two clubs under the name of Pastime, as hereinafter appears.

1860.

THE WAVERLY CLUB, OF BALTIMORE CITY.

President—William Prestman.

This club, formed in 1860, was composed of some of the most prominent young gentlemen of that day. They were victorious over the Excelsior in two well contested games in 1861, both of which games are given in this record. In 1861, many of the best players of the Waverly Club, having gone South and joined the Confederate army, among whom was William Murray, of the first nine, and who as Captain William Murray, was killed at the head of his company in the famous charge of his regiment at Gettysburg, the two clubs came together, and as appears in this record, determined to change the name of Excelsior to Pastime, and in this way, was organized the great Pastime Club, that did so much for Baltimore's reputation in the early days of Base-Ball.

1860.

THE MARYLAND CLUB OF BALTIMORE CITY.

Organized in 1860. (See record of 1861.)

1861.

President—William Caughey. Secretary—George Popplein.

(The Sun.)

1862.

President—Robert Green. Secretary—Michael Hooper.

1863.

President—Robert Green. Secretary—Michael Hooper.

1864.

President—Charles Young. Secretary—A. W. Sellman.

(The Sun.)

NOTE.—Although information has been asked from the members of this Club, yet it has not been received from any, except their old president, Robert Green, and that limited to the statement that he was president of the Club for five years, and that Michael Hooper was secretary during that time.

1860.

The Maryland Club was a club composed of a large number of the most enthusiastic, and best ball players of the State, during the years of Amateur ball. It was a great antagonist of the Pastime Club—the Champions. Although beaten in the contest year after year, yet it would not down, but came back as each season opened, stronger than before, until in 1867 it won from the Pastime the Silver Ball, and Championship of the State. The victory was deserved, for each player had been constantly drilled by their Captain, Mike Hooper, who was *certainly* one of the best ball players the State ever produced. To Captain Mike Hooper *first*, and to the President, Robert Green, *next*, if the writer's recollections be correct, and after, to the large number of *earnest members*, who never tired of working for the best interests of their club, is due great praise for the splendid record of the Maryland Club, in and out of the State. The writer had the great pleasure at a meeting of *old base ball men*, held two years ago, and over which he was asked to preside, of shaking hands once more with a number of the old players of the Maryland, and Enterprise Clubs. Please allow your old friend the privilege of thanking you for the honor of presiding over you once more, for we are all much older than in the good, happy days of "ye olden times," when we appreciated and fought *as club men*, and yet it is *certain* that down in the heart of each one there is some good, kind feelings for every one of the "*old pioneers*."

THE PASTIME CLUB OF BALTIMORE CITY.

Successors of all that was old in base ball in Maryland as represented by the *Excelsior*, and *Waverly Clubs*. Organized as successor in 1861. (See record of 1861.) President, James A. Courtney; Secretary, N. Poe, Jr.

1862.

President—John K. Sears. Secretary—N. P. Chapman.

1863.

President—John K. Sears. Secretary—Dr. Thomas Brown.

1864.

President—William Ridgely Griffith. Sec'y—Wm. Mallinckrodt.

1865.

President—William Ridgely Griffith. Sec'y—Wm. Mallinckrodt.

1866.

President—William Ridgely Griffith. Sec'y—Wm. Mallinckrodt.
Died Dec. 25, 1866

1867.

President—William Ridgely Griffith. Sec'y—Oliver A. Winchester.

1868.

President—Capt. Wm. C. Pennington. Sec'y—John M. Nelson.

1869.

President—Capt. Wm. C. Pennington. *Sec'y*—Nelson Mowton.

1870.

President—Otis Keilholz. *Secretary*—Arthur W. Sellman.

1861.

THE PASTIME BASE-BALL CLUB.

The Baltimore Sun of Saturday, August 17th, 1861.—"Excelsior Base-Ball Club."—"At a meeting of the Excelsior Base-Ball Club held on Thursday evening, it was determined to change the name of the club. It will hereafter be known as the '*Pastime Base Ball Club*.' They also elected officers for the ensuing term, viz: President, James A. Courtney; Vice-President, N. P. Chapman; Treasurer, E. Van Ness; Secretary, N. Poe; Committee of Inquiry, T. Mitchell, H. Schriver and P. H. Minis." A part [of] these officers, Messrs. Courtney, Chapman, Mitchell and Schriver were from the Excelsior membership, and Messrs. Van Ness, Poe and Minis, from the Waverly, which club had joined the Excelsior, and all acting together in this sensible consolidation of the two oldest clubs in the State, formed one that for years was not only to maintain the Base-Ball reputation of the City and State, but to be known all over the country as "A Club of Gentlemen."

UNIFORMS.

The regular uniform of the Pastime was a cap of blue cloth with white leather visor, a white flannel shirt with a large capital "P." of blue in the front, and blue cloth pants. The practice days were Wednesday and Saturday, and the members of the club present who desired to play, were divided into two nines under captains, who *tossed up* for first choice, and they placed the members as they thought best. The membership of the club averaged about fifty each year, but quite a number seldom played.

1861.

As will be noticed by the games with out-of-town clubs reported herein, it was the habit in those days to give a fine entertainment to visiting clubs, and the same was done by the leading clubs all over the country. The money was raised by the subscriptions of members. During a business trip to New York in 1864, and a visit there to John K. Sears, a former President of the Pastime[,] the writer bought and brought to Baltimore *the first willow bats*, and he remembers how they were appreciated by the club. Great good fellowship existed, and strong friendships were formed that lasted through life. William Mallinckrodt, Secretary of the Club, whom every one who knew him loved, died during the last term he was in office, and the writer, then President, called out the members of the club to attend the funeral in a body, and a large number responded. One thing in regard to the Pastime must be mentioned, viz: The membership of the club was composed of Union and Southern men both, and yet in no single instance during the entire war, was there a trouble among members, due to feelings born of those unhappy days.

The Pastime Club, held at all times the lease of the land, known as "*The Pastime Base-Ball Grounds*," Madison Avenue. In the FALL of 1865 the club built, at a large expense, the stand of seats, and inclosed with a high fence the entire grounds, erecting at the same time its third club house, located down by the spring. In 1866, the first charge for admission, fifteen cents, was started. The club held the grounds for its own use on Wednesdays and Saturdays, but rented them out during the other days of the week, to the Maryland and Enterprise Clubs.

1. Pages 1-11 excerpted; see guest editor's introduction.

Book Reviews

Politics, Diplomacy and Intrigue in the Early Republic: The Cabinet Career of Robert Smith, 1801–1811. By Thom M. Armstrong. (Dubuque, Iowa: Kendall/Hunt Publishing Co., 1991. Pp. 226. Notes, bibliography, index. \$24.95.)

Unlike so many book titles published today, this one accurately describes the contents. It is a specialist's book—one not aimed at the general reader—and bears the earmarks of the Ph.D. dissertation it once was. Further reflection, certainly more research and another rewrite, would have vastly improved its contents; the topic as it is presented is more worthy of an article than a book-length treatment.

Robert Smith, an admiralty lawyer and younger brother of Baltimore's famous politico Samuel, lived from 1757 to 1842. From his mid-forties to his mid-fifties, Robert served two terms as secretary of the navy under Jefferson and then two years as secretary of state under Madison. The latter asked for his resignation in March 1811 allegedly for Smith's incompetence, but really—so most specialists think—for Smith's opposition to both Albert Gallatin, the Republicans' answer to Alexander Hamilton, and the president himself.

Armstrong's thesis is simple: Robert Smith was not the simpleton many contemporaries and historians have suggested. For one thing, how could a simpleton serve two terms as secretary of the navy and then two years as secretary of state? For another, he was victimized: "Madison, Gallatin, [John, of Roanoke] Randolph, and others, for partisan political purposes, sought to discredit Smith" (p. 93). (On the next page Armstrong labels Robert as one of many "defectors" from Madison's Republican party). The first question doesn't even merit discussion.

But the second idea—Smith as victim—has some possibilities. Unfortunately, Armstrong's thin research and reflection are insufficient to explore them. His discussion never rises above the legal and political record and his thesis is locked into an adversarial defense of Smith. Conclusions like the one about politicians acting in their political interest are almost dictated by this method, but they tell us nothing. Armstrong's people have no personalities; they are cardboard characters. We know them through the eyes of others; but this should not be the case with his subject, Robert Smith. The reader has no feeling for this man or for what his personality was like; two sentences mention the barest of information about his wife and children; and only five of the 163 pages of text discuss Smith's life before 1801 and after 1811. At best, Armstrong succeeds in showing Robert not subservient to his successful older brother. "He was, after all, well-established and respected in his own right" (p. 4). Corroboration of this point—one not cited by Armstrong presumably because it lay outside of his time frame—are Robert's letters to Samuel after Samuel's bankruptcy in the Panic of 1819.

Given his approach, the heart of Armstrong's book—the last twelve of its thirteen chapters—confuses background with foreground material. Most of the text is

context: the discussion is mainly descriptive; it utilizes standard primary sources; and it follows recent secondary interpretations. Nothing is new here, but there are some intriguing items brought to light. Just who, for example, was the Dr. John Bullus whom Madison and Monroe trusted to carry their important correspondence back and forth across the Atlantic in 1807? Did the "vindication" that Robert published in 1811 follow a political style that had already been established by Chesapeake politicians? Had such a course become part of the code of honor by 1811? Did the momentous debates about the importation of slaves, especially in brother Samuel's U.S. Senate, during the winter of 1806-7 have as much bearing upon the Madison-Jefferson-Gallatin-Smith brothers relationship as they had on John Randolph's relationship with the administration? Perhaps most importantly, what difference did Robert's dismissal make, either to Robert's next thirty-one years or to the political life of the early republic?

GARY L. BROWNE

University of Maryland, Baltimore County

Edgar A. Poe: Mournful and Never-ending Remembrance. By Kenneth Silverman. (New York: Harper Collins, 1991. Pp. xii, 564. Photographs, notes, appendices, index. \$27.50.)

It has been over fifty years since Arthur Hobson Quinn published what has long stood as the definitive biography of Edgar Allan Poe. Since that time an amazing amount of Poe scholarship has culminated in *The Poe Log* (1987), an exhaustive compendium of every known verifiable fact about Poe's life. So if there has ever been a time for a new "definitive" biography, it is now. Whether Kenneth Silverman has succeeded with *Edgar A. Poe: Mournful and Never-ending Remembrance* will have Poe enthusiasts divided equally along both sides of the fence.

Mr. Silverman departs from Quinn's portrayal of Poe as a hard-working journalist plagued by ill-luck and personal misfortune. Armed with modern psychiatric insights into parental loss and childhood bereavement, Mr. Silverman's Poe was forever working out the grief he suffered from the desertion of his father and the death of his mother before the age of three. Much of Poe's career "may be understood as a sort of prolonged mourning, an artistic brooding-on and assemblage of the fantasies activated by an ever-living past" (p. 78).

The Poe that came out of this incessant mourning was not a pleasant one. He was an habitual liar, an unjustifiably harsh critic who could not take criticism himself, a man who waged a fanatical campaign against plagiarism yet freely cribbed from the works of others. To vindicate the shame of his orphan past, Poe was forever craving respect, wealth and fame to the point of extreme, self-defeating behavior.

This unflattering portrait will anger those who unabashedly adore Poe. Although many of his troubles were indeed self-inflicted, and too many earlier biographies have tended to "whitewash" his character, Silverman errs in emphasizing the negative aspects of Poe's life over his many accomplishments. Describing

Poe's prolific five years in Philadelphia, during which time he published thirty-one tales and stories, Silverman writes "that only by some defiantly willed self-transcendence could he produce so many works . . . in between his hard-up wanderings from home to home and job to job, insulting friends or not paying the barber when lost in bourbon and port. . . . not to mention the wave of disaster and affront that began practically with his birth" (p. 209).

Readers of Maryland history will take especial interest in the sections covering Poe's residence in Baltimore in 1829 and 1831–35, and his death while passing through Baltimore in 1849. Unfortunately, both are poorly documented periods in Poe's life. Mr. Silverman can add little to our knowledge of Poe's Baltimore days, although he presents a compelling argument for the controversial notion that Poe secretly married his cousin Virginia in Baltimore before publicly marrying her in Richmond in 1836. Nor can he shed new light on the mystery of Poe's death. He provides a good overview of the available evidence and suggests a valid explanation—that Poe succumbed from a combination of pre-existing illness, alcohol, and exposure to prematurely wintry weather—but, like his many predecessors, Mr. Silverman can only guess at the vague and shadowy events that ended Poe's life.

Although prodigiously researched and superbly written, *Edgar A. Poe* is far too subjective to qualify as a "definitive" biography. (It is impossible to replace *The Poe Log* for sheer, unadulterated facts.) But if the purpose of literary biography is to revisit the life of a writer through his works, and vice-versa, then this book is an admirable achievement. Read it and you will want to read your favorite Poe stories and poems again.

CHRISTOPHER SCHARPF

Edgar Allan Poe Society of Baltimore

Bloody Dawn: The Christiana Riot and Racial Violence in the Antebellum North. By Thomas P. Slaughter. (New York: Oxford University Press, 1991. Pp. xiv, 252. Notes, index. \$29.95.)

Thomas Slaughter has succeeded admirably in taking a bit of Pennsylvania local history and transforming it into a national event. *Bloody Dawn* is a pleasure to read, while it also brings out a tragedy in American race relations. The catastrophe began in rural Baltimore County, Maryland, where Edward Gorsuch owned a small plantation he called Retreat Farm. He owned slaves, including Joshua and George Hammond, Noah Buley, and Nelson Ford. Gorsuch considered himself a benevolent "master," who had always treated his "chattels" kindly. He had even promised to emancipate them. Their escape in 1849 troubled him; and the slave master vowed to capture them. This decision resulted in his death in Christiana, a town in Lancaster County, Pennsylvania, and one of the most sensational trials in American history.

According to Slaughter, the Christiana Riot involved national questions from the beginning. Fugitive slave legislation made it possible for Gorsuch to hunt down the refugees. He might have done so without federal protection; yet, the federal

Fugitive Slave Act of 1793 provided him with a license to capture and forcibly remove runaway slaves. Weaknesses in the 1793 statute produced the 1850 supplemental law. Earlier, the states had challenged the 1793 law by emancipating runaways who had been brought into a free state or allowed to enter with the knowledge and consent of an owner. Antislavery courts in Massachusetts, Connecticut, and Ohio had given liberty to slaves brought into their jurisdiction. In *Prigg v. Pennsylvania* (1842), the Supreme Court upheld federal fugitive slave legislation but denied that the states were obligated to enforce the law. Slaveholders complained that the law weakened their ability to control enslaved blacks. Congress therefore strengthened the legislation in the Compromise of 1850.

The new fugitive-slave law provided for commissioners to hear claims involving escaped slaves, compensation for commissioners who returned them, and federal marshals who could impress a posse to aide in the capture and removal of alleged slaves. Gorsuch used this machinery when he tracked his runaways to Lancaster County.

Slaughter explains that the free North provided little beyond physical freedom for black refugees. Noah Buley, Nelson Ford, and the two Hammonds soon discovered that they had entered a community hostile to blacks. Pennsylvania had organized special courts to try alleged black criminals. Invariably, these courts meted out harsher punishment on blacks than for whites who committed similar crimes. African Americans never achieved full acceptance in Lancaster County during the antebellum period. Whites, like Gorsuch, were generally paternalistic. They hired black workers, gave destitute blacks food and clothing, and sometimes provided refuge for runaway slaves, all without considering blacks their equals.

Gorsuch was aware of northern white attitudes. He had little doubt that once he had identified them, he could successfully remove the runaways. But he did not anticipate meeting members of the Mutual Protection Association. African Americans in Lancaster County had organized to protect themselves from unscrupulous slave catchers who frequently kidnapped free blacks (the "Gap Gang," a group of white toughs, had made kidnapping a business). Slaughter explains that "African Americans of property and standing also were scared—frightened of their white neighbors . . . of slave catchers to whom one kidnapped black was worth as much as another . . ." (p. 39).

The Mutual Protection Association had given refuge to Ford, Buley, and the two Hammonds. Led by William Parker, a central figure in *Bloody Dawn*, Association members believed they should shield runaway slaves with their lives. Gorsuch, who could not believe that his slaves would disobey him, ordered them from Parker's home. But he had never really known them, or their resolve to live free. When Eliza Parker, William's wife, suspected trouble, she sounded the alarm for members of the Association. Few whites wanted to believe that blacks had organized to protect themselves. As Slaughter put it, "None of the blacks at the Parkers' home that morning were merely victims . . ." (p. 74). They were courageous. During the gunfight with the Association, Gorsuch was killed.

William Parker joined Ford, Buley, and the two Hammonds in boarding the Underground Railroad to Canada. Had Parker stayed behind, he would have been prosecuted for the death of Gorsuch. As had thousands of African Americans before, Parker and his comrades left behind their wives and family in order to live free. Slaughter makes it clear that Parker's family suffered miserably both because they lost their man and because intolerant whites persecuted them. Understanding that this might happen, Parker and Gorsuch's former slaves continued on their journey. They made their way to Rochester, New York, and to the home of Frederick Douglass, Parker's friend. After sharing their story with Douglass and his abolitionist colleagues, the refugees made it safely to Canada.

Slaughter makes it clear that whites in Christiana found the affair incredulous. They could not believe that blacks could organize independently of whites. Consequently, they prosecuted a white: Castner Hanway, an abolitionist. To avoid any indication that blacks would not cooperate with fugitive slave legislation or even kill for their survival, the authorities charged Hanway with treason. A celebrated trial followed.

This book is required reading for any one interested in fugitive slave legislation, race riots, or runaway slaves. Slaughter has told this complex story in irresistible prose.

STEPHEN MIDDLETON
North Carolina State University

Wartime Washington: The Civil War Letters of Elizabeth Blair Lee. Edited by Virginia J. Laas. (Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1991. Pp. ix, 552. Illustrations, notes, index. \$39.95.)

Through her eighty-eight years, Elizabeth Blair Lee seldom sought recognition but nonetheless spent much of her time among prominent local and national politicians. Indeed her father, Francis Preston Blair, who had been an active Kentucky politico, a leading Democratic editor, and confidante of Andrew Jackson, claimed his only daughter was "brought up in caucus" (p. 1). Her brothers, Montgomery and Francis Jr., deeply involved themselves in Missouri and Maryland politics, and Montgomery served during the Civil War as U.S. postmaster general. Despite her family's objections, Elizabeth Blair chose in 1843 to marry Samuel Phillips Lee, a naval officer who was the grandson of Richard Henry Lee and a third cousin of Robert E. Lee. Her parents became reconciled to the match; and during Phillips Lee's frequent postings at sea, Elizabeth Blair Lee stayed with them in Washington, D.C. or at their country home at Silver Spring, just north of the city.

Published here are more than 350 of the almost 1,000 letters that Elizabeth Blair Lee wrote her husband from 1860 to 1865. The couple spent most of the Civil War apart as Phillips Lee commanded the North Atlantic blockade and later was stationed on the Mississippi River; Elizabeth Lee spent most of her time in Washington or Silver Spring (with occasional visits north, as during Jubal Early's

1864 raid on Washington). Lee's letters reflect her presence on and knowledge of the national scene. Readers will find Lee an intelligent woman who visited with and entertained numerous congressmen, officials, and their families. As a military wife, she also knew the army and navy officers and was quick to judge their actions and abilities.

Lee also had many important ties to Maryland, Virginia, Kentucky, and Missouri which give her writings a distinctive border-state orientation. Sharing her family's fervent Unionism and conservative Republicanism, she hated secession. Although none of her own family of origin supported the Confederacy, she knew that her husband's siblings and their relations tended to be ambivalent or pro-southern. Elizabeth Lee believed her secessionist friends misguided; she retained affection for the southern relatives she knew well (but was stonily judgmental about Robert E. Lee, of whom she privately wrote, "No vain woman in my opinion was ever more easily lured from honor & duty by flattering than was this weak man by the overtures of wily politicians. . ." [p. 148]).

Much like other antislavery border state residents (such as Cassius Clay or Hinton Rowan Helper), she retained numerous prejudices against African Americans. Advocating their colonization in Africa or Central America, she declared in 1862, "I am an abolitionist for the sake of my own race" (p. 223). Arguing that "contact with the African degenerates our white race," Lee further noted how her son's "faithful" black nurse helped to discourage the five-year-old from playing with black children. Perhaps somewhat conscious of the contradictions in this course and generally kind in her personal relations, Lee quickly added, "She is a good woman & so are many of them— Still the race is a degraded one" (p. 223).

To be sure, Elizabeth Blair Lee was no average woman. Her family's wealth and prestige combined with an absent husband and only one child to lighten her housekeeping responsibilities and give her relatively great leisure time. Much of it went for two major concerns: her husband's professional advancement and the Washington Orphan Asylum, whose "first directress" she became in April 1862. In the first, she was not very successful. Lee did not gain her husband's promotion to admiral during the war, but this failure came from no lack of cultivating her many political contacts. Her work at the home for orphaned children she considered emotionally fulfilling as well as civic-minded. Less than two weeks after she took control of the board, she told her husband the "one comfort" in her charity work was "I am at home in it—for I feel nearly as homeless as you do" (p. 132). At the end of the war, after she had secured a donation of land for a larger building and had run a successful fair that raised over seven thousand dollars for the asylum, she summed up the work's meaning, "I took it, to get rid of myself—when pining unto sickness for my husband. . . ." The asylum "gave me work for head, heart & hands—& a refuge ever ready for me when my life was too lonesome to be happy—& no matter how much faith one has we must do something for others to be happy So you see all my charity is after all selfishness" (p. 474).

Virginia Laas has employed a thoughtful editorial method that permits easy reading (through the introduction of paragraphing) while faithfully transcribing

entire letters and their misspellings and original punctuation (or lack thereof). Her footnotes are generally lean, whether concerning national figures, relatives, or friends. To supplement these identifications she has added as notes helpful or pithy quotations from other letters by Elizabeth Blair Lee which were not selected for publication in full. While readers interested in the Lee or Blair families may wish that Laas had included family trees to simplify family references, this volume is handsome and well-presented.

Elizabeth Blair Lee's Civil War letters will appeal to a considerable audience—those interested in how border-state political elites perceived political and military events, those concerned about social relations in wartime Washington and its environs, and those wishing to know more about women and their family, charitable, and social activities. Modern readers are fortunate that the letters like Elizabeth Blair Lee and her husband survived the war so well.

JANE TURNER CENSER
George Mason University

City on the Sand: Ocean City, Maryland, and the People Who Built It. By Mary Corddry. (Centreville: Tidewater Publishers, 1991. Pp. 200. Sources, index. \$19.95.)

In this volume, Mary Corddry traces the desolate beginnings of Maryland's favorite resort in 1875, its moderate expansion, and then the major changes that bring a sweltering population to more than 300,000 at summer's height. The construction of the Wicomico and Pocomoke Railroad and a trestle across Sinepuxent Bay attracted vacationers into what is now the oldest part of the town. Although Ocean City was a day's journey by boat and train from Baltimore, the new links prompted a half century of steady growth for a string of hotels, cottages, and fishing camps.

Before the completion of the first span of the Chesapeake Bay Bridge in 1952, Ocean City remained a summer-only town. In the early chapters, the author describes the motives and the individuals who led the slow northward march up the beach. She focuses on personal stories of the business owners and visitor remembrances, imparting an anecdotal flavor that lacks historic analysis. Corddry has ably documented the significant role that women played in Ocean City's growth. Women both managed and invested in hotels and rental cottages, assuming ever-larger risks as property values and development required substantial infusions of capital.

Storms have always been a danger. A 1933 hurricane accomplished suddenly what business leaders for years had lobbied the federal government to do—open an inlet that permitted vessels from the Atlantic to enter a sheltered bay anchorage. The storm washed properties into the sea, but the inlet became permanent. It allowed Ocean City to offer commercial fishing on a different scale than previously, when locals used horses to haul heavy boats into and out of the surf.

Perhaps because of the substantial changes and first-hand observation, the author is at her analytical best in the chapter "Coming of Age." A journalist who covered Maryland's Eastern Shore for the Baltimore *Sun* for seventeen years,

Corddry frequented Ocean City during the booming development decades of the 1970s and 1980s. Those years saw high-roller investors, financial gimmicks to bail out the overextended, and little concern for the environmental effects of speculative building. Developers like the secretive but assertive James B. Caine made and then lost a fortune; his rapid development of the northern end of Ocean City brought down the era of unregulated alteration of dunes and wetlands.

The political atmosphere, too, created a developer's utopia. Mayor Harry Kelley defiantly tangled with state officials and the army corps of engineers over his "do it now" beach rejuvenation policy. A shrewd public-relations figure, Kelley salvaged a threatened season during the national gasoline shortage in 1979. The mayor purchased gasoline in spot markets, held it in city tanks, and then sold it at cost to local stations. Washington and Baltimore residents vacationed in Ocean City knowing they would find gas to return home. Kelley gained millions in free national publicity.

By the early 1990s a new mayor, heightened awareness of the barrier reef's fragile environment, and the legacies of overdevelopment calmed the boisterous building spree. Yet the expenditures for controversial beach replenishment and for more highway improvements in the state's "Reach the Beach" program will undoubtedly bring conflict. Ocean City has powerful adherents in its condo owners, business leaders, state officials, and vacationers who think of no other place for a holiday. Ocean City's development changed the Eastern Shore, modified Maryland's presence in the East Coast resorts market, and continues as a magnet for students who find there a lucrative employment mart.

Whose beach is it? All of them—developers, commercial interests, fishing captains, and beach goers—find it enticing. The beach symbolizes summer and relaxation, or a connection to the carefree days of bonfires on the sand that will keep streams of cars coming to a narrowing shoreline. Meanwhile Ocean City's ultimate fate may rest with nature, for it's a "frail and vulnerable city, imperiled by wind, flood and the follies of man."

This book provides a valuable overview, but a thorough history based on sources such as taxation, population, or visitation records needs to be written. There is little here on municipal institutions or Ocean City's relationship to the state. Diversions occasionally lead away from chapter themes, but not seriously. The book needed an additional map or two to help readers follow the location references. Given the subject, one is tempted to label it "beach reading"; Mary Corddry deserves more serious readers.

NEAL A. BROOKS
Essex Community College

Somerset: An Architectural History. By Paul Baker Touart. (Annapolis, Md.: Maryland Historical Trust, 1991. Pp. 420. Inventory, bibliography, glossary, index. \$25.)

Somerset: An Architectural History is the result of a four-year county-wide survey cooperatively sponsored by the Maryland Historical Trust and the Somerset

County Historical Trust, Inc., the principal investigator and author being Paul Touart. In all, more than four hundred structures are included, ranging in scale from small outbuildings to the largest civic structures. The majority surveyed are from the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, though a chapter each is devoted to Native American settlement (in a fine essay by Richard B. Hughes), impermanent architecture of the seventeenth century, and twentieth-century revival styles. A glossary and extensive index, neither of which are features typically found in county surveys, enhance this volume and are helpful to the reader. The only drawback is the lack of a contemporary county map illustrating the towns and regions, as well as an overall context map of the state and Chesapeake Bay area. This is a minor point, but for the reader unfamiliar with Somerset County, it can be frustrating.

Under the aegis of the Maryland Historical Trust, several notable county surveys have preceded Touart's, particularly two edited by Christopher Weeks: *Between the Nanticoke and the Choptank: An Architectural History of Dorchester County, Maryland* and *Where Land and Water Intertwine: An Architectural History of Talbot County Maryland* (both published by Johns Hopkins University Press, 1984). Such surveys are an essential contribution to the study of the state's architecture as they fill in the gaps created by architectural histories that have traditionally focused only on the grand, architect-designed buildings.

Touart's work sets new standards for county architectural histories to follow. His essay on the architectural history of the county exhibits a familiarity and seamless control of the data—an often difficult task when confronted with hundreds of structures that must be linked in a coherent narrative. He manages to incorporate most of them into a two-hundred-page "brief social and economic history of Somerset County" (p. vi), taking the reader from the first surveyed structure chronologically (Salisbury, ca. 1700), up through the Beaux-Arts in the early twentieth century (Old Bank of Crisfield, ca. 1900). He employs a wide variety of documents such as inventory and judicial records, census records, deeds, and historic photographs to get the most complete understanding of each property. In cases where they exist, oral histories are carefully weighed against the documentary evidence to pinpoint the accuracy of the former and establish construction dates. Touart highlights these instances and makes judicious conclusions.

Touart follows developments in architecture on a national level and draws parallels with building in Somerset County. Many of the better, more expensively constructed dwellings remain to be surveyed, obscuring the fact that large numbers of more common dwellings have disappeared due to decay and vulnerable construction methods, such as earthfast supports. Buildings such as Teackle Mansion (ca. 1802, 1818–19) and Kingston Hall (ca. 1780–83), which represent the introduction of Palladianism into the county, are unique and make up only a fraction of what existed in the eighteenth and nineteenth-century landscape. Speaking of pre-Revolutionary era houses, Touart states that "these dwellings were erected for the wealthiest segment of county society and do not reflect how the majority of people lived. The balance of the Somerset population occupied much smaller, less

substantial structures that disappeared because of fire, decay, or everyday use" (p. 50). One leaves the volume with a much clearer and more accurate picture of the entire county's architectural legacy, not an isolated view of the best preserved examples.

SUSAN HOLBROOK PERDUE

Papers of James Madison

University of Virginia

Tidewater by Steamboat: A Saga of the Chesapeake. By David C. Holly. (Baltimore and London: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1991. Pp. xiv, 314. Illustrations, maps, appendixes, notes, bibliography, index. \$29.95.)

The history of steamboat transportation on the Chesapeake Bay and the attendant economic and social development along its shores and rivers begins in 1813 with the steamboat *Chesapeake* and the organization of the Union Steamboat Line in Baltimore; it ends in 1963, when the Baltimore Steam Packet Company night boat made its final run from Norfolk to Baltimore. *Tidewater by Steamboat* presents this history in a readable, sometimes narrative style woven into a text which focuses on sailings from Baltimore to the Potomac, Patuxent, and Rappahannock rivers. The age of the Chesapeake steamboat seems romantic in retrospect with the smell of salt air mingling with the perfume of honeysuckle and pine trees in candle. But steamboat life had its hard side—disasters, fire, collision, sinkings, hurricanes, ice, war, depression, and bankruptcy. Through most of this era the name *Weems* plays an important role—George and Gustavus Weems purchased their first steamboat in 1818 and commenced direct competition with the established sailing packets, to end in 1904 when Weems Steamboat Company sold out to a railroad syndicate. The accounting of the successes and failures of the Weems interests over the years makes interesting reading, particularly with respect to the personality and managerial skill of Henry Williams, for many years attorney, agent, and president of the Weems Line.

This book offers not only pleasant reading, it presents a comprehensive and accurate overview of steamboat transportation on the Chesapeake up to 1938. The author has thoroughly researched the subject matter and includes extensive notes and a bibliography. Appendixes include details of costs and specifications for the steamboats of the Weems Line, sailing schedules, and landing sites on the three rivers served by Weems. Other appendixes are devoted to a history of the Weems family, excerpts from minutes of stockholder meetings of the Weems Line, and a detailed index. The book is generously illustrated throughout with photographs, sketch maps, and drawings.

Mr. Holly's writing uses the occasional lyrical description of steamboating as it was in the past, and he makes frequent assumptions as to the thoughts and motivations of the personalities involved. While these might be considered to be flaws in style, they do contribute to better understanding the subject matter. The writer's extensive use of private collections of documents and public archival

sources and his careful assessment of data has produced a valuable addition to historical literature of the Chesapeake Bay region. *Tidewater by Steamboat* will be of interest to the casual reader and a dependable reference source to the historian.

LEWIS A. BECK, JR.
Radcliffe Maritime Museum
Maryland Historical Society

The Baltimore Book: New Views of Local History. Edited by Elizabeth Fee, Linda Shopes and Linda Zeidman. (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1991. Pp. xviii, 268. Bibliography, index. \$29.95.)

This book is a collection of eleven essays that focus, for the most part, on Baltimore's black and white working classes during the years from 1877 to World War II. Interspersed with these essays are fourteen short interviews with a wide variety of people connected in one way or another to the city's working classes over the same period of years: former slaves, civil-rights workers, community leaders, and what are called "labor and political activists" (p. vi). There are also almost two hundred photographs, many of them full-page and well reproduced.

The editors explain that the essays, each of which focuses on a particular locality of the city, are to be read as "both a history and a tour guide" so the reader can link each of the eleven neighborhoods to their particular historical experience. For example, the Hampden-Woodbury locality is "toured" in terms of the history of its mill workers over the past 150 years. Other essays focus on places such as Sparrows Point (steel workers), the garment industry neighborhood (clothing workers), Fells Point (cannery workers and seamen's unions), Old West Baltimore (black workers and civil-rights movements) and Camden Yards (the Great Railroad Strike of 1877).

There is a clear danger in such undertakings that the project will fall between two stools, providing an over-generalized tour guide combined with disjointed history. Fortunately, the authors of these essays carry out their bifurcated projects remarkably well. Aided by a series of excellent maps and well chosen photographs, these neighborhood histories present a generally coherent and believable picture of working-class life in Baltimore over the past century. The "tour guide" aspect is clearly secondary to the historical narrative, but the maps can be used to make a reasonably complete circuit around to many of the sites associated with the history of the city's working classes. Tourists will occasionally be disappointed because in several of the localities the great majority of the historic sites pointed to have been torn down.

A second compromise between divergent goals in this book was made in the scholarly format. Even though it is published by a university press, it appears to be designed more for the general public. Those who like to see exactly where authors have obtained their information will be disappointed to see that there are no footnotes. The short bibliographies at the end of each chapter will be helpful, but the fragmented character of so many local-history sources makes this method of citation difficult for those readers who want to explore further. On the positive

side, the essays are generally quite readable—free of the academic jargon and professional sophisms that detract from so many social histories appearing from university presses.

There is no doubt some readers will be put off by the general tone and ideological approach of the book. For the most part, the authors are very sympathetic to the working classes and to their struggles to raise wages and improve poor working conditions. The city's middle and upper classes do not figure much in this volume except as exploiters and oppressors of the lower classes—something which certainly occurred often enough but is here more asserted than explored. The most detailed portrait of a rich exploiter is found in a brief chapter on B&O Railroad president John W. Garrett. The chapter "tours" Evergreen House, Garrett's magnificent suburban estate, which is contrasted with "the cramped two-story rowhouses clustered around the Mt. Clare Shops" (p. 24) where his employees lived. One gets the clear impression that the author does not think Mr. Garrett deserved to get so much more money than his employees; but there is no discussion of his business career that would enable one to make this decision. Nor is there any general review of wage scales among the B&O's unskilled, semi-skilled, and skilled workers.

But even this somewhat tendentious essay is worth reading for the more fascinating story of Garrett's daughter, Mary Elizabeth Garrett, who took her share of the family fortune and accomplished much good with it—including the down-right bribery of the new Johns Hopkins medical school to force it to admit female as well as male students. Therefore, those who are genuinely interested in the history of Baltimore should not be put off by the leftish tenor in some of the essays because there is also in these chapters a vast wealth of solid information and thoughtful insights into the life of the city. The simple truth is that very few people of any political persuasion have written about Baltimore's working classes in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, and for this alone *The Baltimore Book* will stand as an important contribution to the history of the city.

The range of essays is quite wide. For example, there are fine pieces on Hampden-Woodbury, the West Baltimore black community, the downtown garment district, and Fells Point. From Highlandtown and Sparrows Point in the east to and Edmondson Village in the far western end of the city, the lives, homes and workplaces of the city's working classes receive a more comprehensive treatment than has ever appeared before in book form.

Such a volume is long overdue. It recaptures in words and photographs whole industries and communities that were large and thriving institutions in 1890 or 1930, but which have now almost completely disappeared. For example, Roderick Ryon's essay, "East-Side Union Halls: Where Craft Workers Met, 1887–1917," recalls a world of neighborhood craft workers in East Baltimore that has totally vanished. While the giant garment factories of the old West End survive as physical monuments (albeit now converted into offices or trendy condominiums) and the names Sonneborn, Greif and Strouse still bring some recognition from current Baltimoreans, the East Side union halls or the Carroll Hall "Labor Lyceum" have

either been torn down or so thoroughly remodeled as to be totally unrecognizable. The human world of these craftsmen is also gone. The men themselves are long dead and most of their grandchildren or great-grandchildren have no idea they were ever involved with labor unions. A number of the unions are also gone. Who remembers the canmakers, the coopers or the German Trades Union, which used to meet at Thalia Hall (now the site of a playground)? Who remembers most of the companies with which these craftsmen (and women) struggled for so many years? The great majority of them are gone too.

The fact is that Baltimore's "industrial" era lasted little more than a century, from the 1840s through the 1950s or 1960s. This book makes a good beginning in trying to recapture this lost world and to understand its mainsprings. Readers will disagree with a number of the insights and conclusions of the authors, but I think no one will fail to be drawn into the lives and remarkable exploits of the working people portrayed both in words and perhaps especially in the wonderful photographs that add so much to this volume. Almost every photo is interesting and a number of them are truly striking. If you pick up this book and look at the photo of Henry Sonneborn's tailors on page 89, I'd be willing to bet you will buy the book. Your money will be well spent.

JOSEPH L. ARNOLD

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The James Adams Floating Theatre. By C. Richard Gillespie. (Centreville, Md.: Tidewater Publishers, 1991. Pp. 336. \$24.95.)

"There wasn't a dry seat in the house," Pop Neel exulted over the James Adams Floating Theatre's successful production of *Smilin' Through* in 1929. That comment could often have been less imaginatively made about the East Coast's only long-running showboat, which for twenty-seven years brought drama to the small bay and river towns of North Carolina, Virginia, and Maryland. Between 1914 and 1941 it survived at least three sinkings, hurricanes, snags, sudden freezes, taxes, the movies, radio, the Great Depression, and shifting tastes, until fire consumed it shortly after its theatrical retirement. It also handled the steady internal tensions of small touring companies caused by competition, rivalries, alcohol, cocaine, sex scandals, and performers' steady hopes of greener pastures. Yet there was stability, too, in owners, managers, and core players such as Beulah Adams, the "Mary Pickford" of showboats, who played girlish ingenues until she retired at forty-six. The *James Adams* was, as it had to be, a lively and adaptable institution. When Pop Neel, on the boat most of its life, got false teeth that ended his career as cornetist, the owners simply bought him a bass fiddle and the music continued.

C. Richard Gillespie suggests that the boat burned because it preferred death to the dishonor of descending from the life of art to the coarse business of hauling cargo. Such is the affection he brings to his account. Happily, it is well-researched affection, drawing on letters and diaries, local newspapers, *Billboard*, and especially interviews with the showboat's old casts, crews, and customers. The handling is

generally judicious, involving careful meshing of what is known with what is remembered and with the hype of various managers. Showboaters were disinclined to let history do harm to a good story, and Gillespie tells well both their stories and why many should not be trusted.

The Floating Theatre that made its regular way to Queenstown, Chesapeake City, and St. Michaels, playing a few days or a week at each wharf, gained its national fame because Edna Ferber visited it as her "model" for *Showboat*, though she, with good literary sense, tugged her ship to the Mississippi River, well away from the more prosaic Choptank, Chester, and Nanticoke. For local communities what mattered were the boat's visits, the annual occasion it provided to see a bit of live theater for a dime or a quarter, to be anticipated each summer and remembered each winter.

The book makes some errors about the broad theatrical setting, claiming, for example, that melodrama had to have a "sensation" scene and at least four acts or that Edwin Forrest played blackface roles. Nor will many Ibsen scholars agree that the conventional *Balloon Girl* is closer to *Hedda Gabler* than traditional melodrama. And the first chapter, a kind of literary "faction" of two weeks in the showboat's life, is unconvincing and not integrated into the rest of its solid history. But the heart of the book's close personal, theatrical and communal story, Gillespie handles with care, kindness, intelligence and enthusiasm. This attractive volume brings out the vigor of a dying theatrical tradition, on its last legs but still showing them to the satisfaction of backwater communities whose isolation was slowly dying, too. From Maisie Comardo's "Welcome Aboard" in the foreword to the final fire, the book offers a pleasantly nostalgic voyage through a world lost surprisingly recently.

DAVID GRIMSTED

University of Maryland, College Park

Valley of Opportunity: Economic Culture along the Upper Susquehanna. By Peter C. Mancall. (Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 1991. Pp. xviii, 253. Appendix, notes, index. \$29.95.)

Clearly written and impressively researched, Peter Mancall's *Valley of Opportunity* chronicles the local economic and environmental consequences of the expanding commercial link between the New World and the Old during the eighteenth century. Focusing on the Susquehanna River Valley of Pennsylvania and New York, Mancall structures his narrative around the concept of "economic culture," by which he means people's attitudes and behaviors toward economic resources. *Valley of Opportunity* thus traces the ways in which the region's inhabitants—Native Americans and Euro-Americans, landlords and tenants—interacted as they each tried to use the land and its fruits to their own economic and cultural advantage. Mancall argues that the region's economy showed a market orientation from early in the eighteenth century and that most Indians and Euro-Americans, encouraged by traders and developers, embraced commercial opportunities. But while Native Americans maintained a spiritual relationship with the resources they claimed from

nature, many Euro-Americans saw nature's bounty as little more than commodities from which to reap "profit."

Valley of Opportunity traces three main stages of economic development in the Susquehanna Valley. After describing the Valley's natural attributes—from its extensive system of linked waterways to its forests, fish, and beaver—Mancall explains the economic practices and priorities of the various peoples who had come to the region seeking to take advantage of its resources. Initially, Indians and Europeans engaged in mutually beneficial trade, swapping furs for food and alcohol. But the demands of the Atlantic market exceeded the region's resources. As the Indians ravaged the forests' fur supply in order to meet European demands, the resulting ecological imbalance struck the Indian traders much more severely than their European counterparts. While Europeans could seek trading partners elsewhere, native Americans' physical and spiritual livelihoods depended more directly both on the valley's resources and on the goods for which they traded.

A second stage in the valley's development began when European settlers started to replace traders in the region around mid-century. For the first time the region's Indians and Europeans vied for the same resource, land. Mutual distrust and fear began to supplant the previous relationship of economic interdependence. These growing tensions climaxed during the Revolutionary War, when many of the valley's Indian peoples allied themselves with the British, whom they counted on to protect their claims to the land against the encroachment of white settlers. Providing a vivid account of the local impact of revolutionary skirmishes, Mancall argues that the war's brutality ended any sense of interconnectedness between the region's natives and newcomers.

The Revolution, according to Mancall, was a watershed not only in Indian-white relations but also in the larger economic development of the region. After the war, with the legal and institutional support of the new American government, Euro-American land developers reinforced their pre-war dominance in the region's economy and politics. The consequences of this dominance extended beyond the further displacement of the Indians. Developers bought large tracts of land, divided them into farms, rented the farms to settlers.

Unlike most stories of settlers and Indians, developers and tenants, Mancall's portrayal of life in the Susquehanna Valley is, to a large degree, lacking in villains and victims. Indians and tenants are characterized not as passive victims but rather as active agents in their own destinies, choosing even dependence at times because it suited their larger interests in the emerging Atlantic economy. Mancall suggests, for example, that some colonists chose tenancy over ownership because the abundant supply of fertile land under the control of competing developers favored tenants' bargaining power over that of landlords. Other tenants shied away from ownership because they feared the insecurity of a mortgage—not because tenancy was a more profitable option. Mancall's assertion that some people chose dependency in their quest for opportunity may well be correct, but it is likely to provoke controversy.

Mancall's imprecise use of the term *profit* further obscures our understanding of people's quest for economic gain. In the introduction, for example, he asserts that "people who became tenants . . . did so for their own profit," (p. 6) while in the conclusion he maintains that tenants, among others, "recognized that *security* came from working for the wealthy" (p. 238, emphasis added). Is seeking security necessarily synonymous with pursuing profit? Were tenants who took advantage of cheap rents in order to avoid risk not only of financial failure but also of "breaking up the nuclear family" (p. 235) exercising the same pursuit of "profit" as were acquisitive landlords who amassed huge tracts of land on a speculative basis? Since debates over the capitalist transformation of the countryside often hinge on interpretations of people's profit-seeking proclivities, Mancall could well have defined his terms more rigorously.

The applicability of Mancall's findings to the country's other regions remains to be seen. For example, Maryland's extensive tobacco production, more direct ties to the Atlantic economy, and large slave population may well point to a different set of economic values than those that emerged to the north.

Yet even if Mancall's findings prove particular to the mid-Atlantic region, his approach to studying history merits emulation. *Valley of Opportunity* is pioneering in its attempt to offer an integrated history that draws on some of the profession's more innovative sub-specialties, such as environmental and "new rural" history, while giving a novel twist to some old stalwarts, such as political, military, and legal history. Devotees of any of these particular specialties may regret that Mancall did not explore their preferred topics or issues more thoroughly. But Mancall's overall treatment of the local impact of the expansion of the Atlantic economy is creative and provocative. If *Valley of Opportunity* may occasionally falter under the weight of its own ambition, it is that same reach—of thematic, geographic, and chronological scope—that makes the book so compelling.

CAROL SHERIFF
Yale University

Die Korrespondenz Heinrich Melchior Muhlenbergs aus der Anfangszeit des Deutschen Luthertums in Nordamerika. Band 1: 1740–1752. By Kurt Aland. (Berlin and New York: Walter De Gruyter Press, 1986. Pp. xx, 573. Index of manuscript repositories, index of names and places, index of letters. DM 295.)

Die Korrespondenz Heinrich Melchior Muhlenbergs aus der Anfangszeit des Deutschen Luthertums in Nordamerika. Band 2: 1753–1762. By Kurt Aland. (Berlin and New York: Walter De Gruyter Press, 1987. Pp. xxxiv, 623. Index of names and places, index of letters. DM 328.)

Die Korrespondenz Heinrich Melchior Muhlenbergs aus der Anfangszeit des Deutschen Luthertums in Nordamerika. Band 3: 1763–1768. By Kurt Aland. (Berlin and New York: Walter De Gruyter Press, 1990. Pp. xiii, 715. Index of names and places, index of letters. DM 398.)

The first volume of *The Correspondence of Henry Melchior Muhlenberg* was published in 1986, and since then Kurt Aland together with Beate Koster and Karl-Otto Strohmidel and their assistants have adhered to an impressive schedule of publishing one volume every other year. While volumes one and two covered thirteen (1740–1752) and ten (1753–1762) years, respectively, the third volume spans only six years (1763–1768), thereby attesting indirectly to the enormous growth of Muhlenberg's influence and responsibilities. As in many multi-volume series, each volume constitutes a distinct and coherent segment of the letters to and from the patriarch of the Lutherans in North America, yet it is also an integral part of the complete edition, which means that the latest volume cannot be read without the preceding volumes close at hand. In particular, the editorial methods and the list of archival materials for the entire series appear only in the first volume (with important additional materials listed in volume three [3:687–90]) and many of the issues that concern Muhlenberg's ministry in Pennsylvania and the adjoining colonies extend over long periods of time quite irrespective of the dictates by which editors and publishers have to abide.

As in most editions of such complexity in content as well as in form, there is opportunity for praise and regrets. Overall, the care with which the material is presented and referenced (especially the extensive cross referencing of all of Muhlenberg's writings in the end notes to each document) is highly commendable. The absence of a subject index is regrettable, however, since only the well-informed specialist can make efficient use of the index that covers the names of persons and places and the register of the letters by authors and recipients. Maps of Germany and the North American colonies showing the location of the most frequently mentioned towns and congregations would have been very helpful to specialists and non-specialists alike. Evidence of a certain unevenness of detail in the scholarly apparatus demonstrates the difficulties faced by all editorial projects that embrace two cultures on two continents but that are primarily based (and published) in one or the other. In this case, the proficiency of Aland and his staff favors the German side of the story—to the great advantage of the American scholar whose access to reference materials that illuminate the careers of ministers, professors, and government officials in the eighteenth century is often severely limited. The background offered for the more ordinary people in the American colonies (vestrymen as opposed to ministers, for example) is less complete and the editors' grasp of the particulars of the American context is less firm than the biblical and theological framework provided for the letters by Muhlenberg and his correspondents. An American translation of Muhlenberg's correspondence might adjust this imbalance.

The scope of Muhlenberg's letters is vast, most of them in German, some in English, a few in Latin, and several with a spattering of Greek and French. His reports to his superiors in London and Halle—and their replies—constitute the heart of his correspondence, and therein two major themes dominate. The first centers on Muhlenberg's efforts to establish a Lutheran church organization in Pennsylvania—and, over time, the surrounding colonies—that was true to the

principles of Lutheran Pietism taught at and emanating from Halle, Germany. From the beginning and throughout the years covered in the first three volumes, much of Muhlenberg's energy was spent in bridge building in growing communities of German settlers without compromising his unwavering commitment to planting Lutheranism in America. The need for a reliable supply of suitable ministers is the second important—and interconnected—theme. Muhlenberg and most of his brethren sent from Halle to minister to the German Lutherans in Pennsylvania were constantly overworked and at times severely depressed about the inability of their mother-church in Europe to grant them more support. Many congregations carried heavy debts because they had expanded in number and built more and larger churches and schools. Muhlenberg wrote letters begging for money, since the funds usually collected for the Pennsylvania congregations through Halle were totally inadequate. From the correspondence, Muhlenberg appeared to be totally preoccupied with the well-being of the Lutherans in Pennsylvania and its adjoining colonies. Yet a careful reading of his letters reveals that he was very aware of the political and economic situation. His correspondence also allows glimpses of his family life. For example, his decision to send his three oldest sons to Germany for their education is well documented (including references to his letters to them in English). The wealth of material covered in Muhlenberg's correspondence defies brief description, but there is no doubt that his letters deserve to reach a far wider audience than the relatively small group of scholars, students, and interested laypersons who can read these important documents in German.

MARIANNE S. WOKECK

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The Old Dominion at War: Society, Politics, and Warfare in Late Colonial Virginia. By James Titus. (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1991. Pp. xii, 213. Notes, bibliography, index. \$29.95.)

Upper-class Virginians were not particularly nice people in the 1750s, according to this sharp little monograph, the latest in South Carolina's American Military History series. Placid Virginia society rested on the deference paid the "better sort" by the "lesser sort," an arrangement sorely strained when the colony's adventuresome governor, Robert Dinwiddie, dispatched provincial troops on behalf of the Ohio Company. Stockholder Dinwiddie proposed to drive off the predatory French, who were making commercial inroads into the Ohio country where the company speculated in land. The expedition failed miserably—Col. George Washington surrendered his battered force at Fort Necessity in 1754—whereupon the governor turned to the Crown for help and in so doing invited the French and Indian War. The French promptly crushed Gen. Edward Braddock's column near the site of the Fort Necessity debacle, and Virginia found its frontier the target of France's newly confident Indian allies. The problem, writes James Titus with a touch of vinegar, was that they had not seen war in eighty years, and now "some

Virginians would have to bear the hardships and dangers of actual service in the colony's provincial forces."

How the colony decided upon military policy, raised a small army, and waged a war on its frontier together with what that process revealed about Virginia society are the subjects of this book. Bound as they were to an agricultural economy and removed from immediate danger by distance and the Blue Ridge, few Virginians flocked to the colors. The thought of avenging their military defeats held little charm. Comprised of almost every able-bodied man, the militia was disposed to mobilize only for short seasons and then strictly for local defense. No man of serious intent, however modest his holdings, wanted to leave his farm and risk his neck campaigning in the hinterlands against howling savages. Virginia's early attempts to impose a draft met stiff resistance, some of it from an unexpected direction—creditors who did not want indebted draftees absconding to the frontier. Deference had its limits.

Virginia selected a relatively painless alternative. After isolating its "mudsills"—propertyless men, itinerants from other colonies, vagrants—from the rest of society, it began recruiting, drafting, and impressing them into the Virginia Regiment. These "provincials" (as distinct from the more genteel and sedentary militia) were regarded as rabble. Provincial officers, eager to emulate British professional standards, subjected the men to discipline only slightly milder than that imposed upon British regulars (Virginians averaged 613 lashes per flogging to the regulars' 731). Provincials received half the pay of militia, and an inadequate supply system dictated that they ate badly when at all. Not surprisingly, they deserted in droves and did not fight with anything resembling enthusiasm. By 1758 it had become clear that to raise a truly effective army something new was needed. Virginia therefore appropriated more funds for the war and offered a substantial bounty for enlistments. The money, Titus claims, lured a better sort of soldier to the Virginia Regiment, men who rendered their service voluntarily, formed cohesive units, and fought well, although by that time there was little fighting to do. They also demonstrated that the deference they paid colonial leaders was not so much obligatory as conditional. Such is the thesis of this book, interestingly told and well-documented.

James Titus, who is also Lieutenant Colonel Titus, professor of history at the Air Force Academy, does have an affection for a well-paid, well-led, all-volunteer force (the phrase pops up toward the end of the book with evident gusto and an academy classroom lesson on unit dynamics), and one suspects that he is delighted to find in Williamsburg a metaphor for recent United States military history. A conflict begun stupidly lasted nearly a decade; the better-heeled elements sensibly relegated the fighting of an exasperating and ugly little war in the bush to the "lesser sort"; and veterans returned home to a cold shoulder. All this is strikingly familiar in the post-Vietnam, Gulf War era, but one should be careful with metaphors. To the extent that this book spices our view of Virginia society it is valuable indeed. A little more troubling is the implication that bounty or soldiers' pay is somehow linked to modern battlefield success.

Nevertheless, *The Old Dominion at War* is a fine example of the kind of provocative contribution to scholarship the "new military history" can make. Titus has examined Virginia's gentlemanly society through the prism of war and found more colors than we suspected. His slender but important volume belongs on a variety of shelves.

ROBERT I. COTTOM, JR.
Baltimore

Waters from the Rock: Black Resistance in a Revolutionary Age. By Sylvia K. Frey. (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1991. Pp. 376. Bibliography, notes, index. \$29.95.)

Most students of American history would argue that the critical events that led to our final victory in the Revolutionary War occurred in the southern colonies. This is perhaps as it should be, for the bitterness of the fighting, the frequency of battle, and the degree of American losses in the war were greater on the southern scene than in any other part of British North America.

The story of the military events of the war has been given exhaustive coverage by American and non-American historians. But in nearly every case a meaningful coverage of a major feature of that struggle—the role that 400,000 slaves were to play—has been neglected. That void has now been filled, for a new monograph entitled *Waters from the Rock* presents evidence to show that the war in the South was three-sided, not two-sided, deeply involving the slaves as well as the British and American forces. It was, as the author notes, a war about slavery if not over slavery.

Frey's thesis is well taken. By using earlier specialized studies that have dealt at the colonial level with this "triangular" relationship, by going beyond the analyses that Benjamin Quarles, Herbert Aptheker, and others have made, and by focusing on unpublished material largely from British military sources, the author has proved that the war had far deeper and complex repercussions for the South's slave population than has been previously recognized.

A number of positive features stand out. Not least among these is the monograph's organization. After two introductory chapters dealing with the conditions of slavery in the South to the 1770s, individual chapters address the slave response to the war in Georgia, South and North Carolina, and Virginia. The monograph concludes with two chapters on the postwar social status of the slaves and new developments in areas like religion that the spirit of the war engendered. Frey's own research adds meaningful depth and balance. Footnotes conveniently appear at the bottom of the page where the citation is made. Finally, although the repercussions of the war on slavery in Maryland are not covered in a specific chapter, there is frequent mention throughout the monograph of the impact that the war had on slavery in the Old Line state.

Two small criticisms might be noted. First, there are basically two separate themes, which could comprise two monographs. The primary one has already been

described; the second stresses the "new look" in religious activities among blacks after the war. The author makes an effective tie-in but devotes enough time in covering the second theme to warrant a second and separate monograph. Finally, in discussing Maryland, the writer might well have included the meaningful efforts the Quakers made in moving themselves and the state toward stronger opposition to slavery.

Professor Frey's work adds new insight into significant events that affected our nation's black citizens at a critical period in our past. In that light the book has appeal not only for the specialist—and those interested in Maryland's revolutionary past—but also for the general reader seeking a new perspective on the Revolutionary War.

WILLIAM CALDERHEAD
Annapolis

Alexandria on the Potomac: The Portrait of an Antebellum Community. By Harold W. Hurst. (Lanham, Md.: University Press of America, 1991. Pp. xv, 135. Illustrations, bibliography, appendix, index. \$26.50.)

The author's stated purpose is to give a portrayal of life in Alexandria—and its status relative to some comparable communities of the period—from the early 1840s until the outbreak of the Civil War in 1861. Many people do not realize that this town, well known for its Georgian architecture and for being George Washington's "home town," developed during this period into an important regional industrial and shipping center.

The book describes the town's emergence from economic depression brought on by the War of 1812, a recovery aided in varying degrees by the construction of the Alexandria Canal and its link-up with the Chesapeake and Ohio Canal, the advent of a network of railroads, and the retrocession of the town in 1846 from the District of Columbia to the state of Virginia. The last move resulted in an influx of state subsidies to supplement ongoing private efforts to build new transportation facilities.

An impressive amount of quantitative data documents Alexandria's industrial and mercantile activities, along with the names and brief resumés of several principal citizens involved. Among these were some with family roots in Maryland, such as the Smoots, descended from Leonard Calvert, and Anna Maria Goldsborough, who married Henry Fitzhugh Lee and was considered the "grande dame" of Alexandria and Fairfax County society.

The demographics of the town receive full analysis, as do the life styles of high and low, including slaves, free blacks, foreign-born, etc. The religious life of the community is given careful attention, along with the varied and numerous institutions of learning which came into being through private enterprise. The author notes that there were eighteen private schools operating in the town and its environs on the eve of the Civil War, a remarkable number for a town of about 12,000. There was also a common or free school for those who could not afford

private-school tuition, the expenditure per pupil in which was \$6 per session (compared with \$100 to \$250 in a private school).

A chapter is devoted to describing the cultural life in the town, including the construction of a handsome Lyceum (still in existence) and the beneficent influence of the *Alexandria Gazette* (billed until its demise a few years ago as "America's Oldest Daily"). Another chapter describes the ways in which the different classes of society entertained themselves, including fox hunting, horse racing, and—among blacks—a game called "ruffles—a pastime which often led to being arrested by the police" (p. 92). Disappointingly, no further details are given.

The next-to-last chapter deals with political turmoil during and following the presidential election of 1860, in which Alexandria strongly supported the Constitutional Union Party of Bell and Everett, but later, as war fever increased, voted overwhelmingly for secession. The factors in this dramatic reversal of public sentiment are well presented.

This book may not be for the casual reader or for someone seeking entertainment, but for the student or researcher or anyone interested in the history of the period it gives an excellent portrayal of the demographics, economy, and life in Alexandria during those antebellum years. The quantitative data provided are such as to make it a useful source of reference.

RICHARD P. THOMSEN

Falls Church, Virginia

American Catholic Preaching and Piety in the Time of John Carroll. Edited by Raymond J. Kupke. Melville Studies in Church History, Volume 2. (Lanham, Md.: University Press of America, 1991. Pp. xiii, 218. Appendix, notes, index. \$34.50.)

This work is the fruit of a graduate seminar in church history at the Catholic University of America conducted by Charles Edwards O'Neill, S.J., who at the time occupied the chair of the Catholic Daughters of the Americas. O'Neill himself wrote the introduction and the opening essay on "John Carroll, the 'Catholic Enlightenment,' and Rome," which establish the working thesis for all the contributions. The principal sources from which they were drawn are the writings of Carroll himself and a collection of the eighteenth-century sermons housed at Georgetown University.

In his essay O'Neill challenges the views of a formidable array of historians of American Catholicism—Joseph Chinnici, Jay Dolan, Patrick Carey, Emmett Curran, and David O'Brien—who place Carroll and the flock he shepherded within the context of the Enlightenment. Admitting that it is an elusive term, O'Neill demonstrates that Carroll was anti-Enlightenment in at least seven ways in which the term is usually read.

In "The Eucharist as Presented in the Corpus Christi Sermons of Colonial Anglo-America," Joseph Linck demonstrates the central role of the eucharist in the life of American Catholics and their unquestioning belief in the "real presence." In "A Study of Eighteenth Century Anglo-American Catholic Ecclesiology," Raymond

Kupke's analysis of sermons discloses a vision of the Catholic Church as the true kingdom and faithful remnant. In "Marian Spirituality in Early America" Michael Sean Winters demonstrates the intense devotion of Carroll and his clergy to the Virgin Mary. In "John Carroll and the Enlightenment" Carla Bang argues persuasively that Carroll was no rationalist or believer in an impersonal god, human perfectibility, or universal religion.

Whether consciously or not, these essays emphasize the ways in which Catholics in the early national period set themselves apart from mainstream America. This was not characteristic of Carroll, who wished Catholics to blend imperceptibly into the social fabric. He deplored, in fact, the public display of the eucharist on the feast of Corpus Christi as calculated to stir anti-Catholic feeling (see Thomas O'Brien Hanley, ed., *The John Carroll Papers* [Notre Dame Ind., 1976], 3:152-53).

Like the Bible, the Carroll papers may be used to support seeming contradictions. While on occasion Carroll could minimize the use of reason, there can be little doubt that throughout his life he saw truth as best served by giving "free circulation to fair argument" (*ibid.*, 1:140). Yet there was a consistency in Carroll's life; he was not one day a child of the Enlightenment and the next a product of the Counter Reformation. In truth, as this work argues, Carroll was not a *philosophe*. Yet in his ecclesiology, by promoting a free church in a free society, and in other ways, he did represent a deviation from the European view of church.

John Carroll and his constituency absorbed "enlightened" views no more or less than the nation whose principles they ardently supported. If their model was not that of the Enlightened Catholicism of Europe, it was decidedly that of the "Republican Catholicism" described by David O'Brien in *Public Catholicism* ([New York, 1989], pp. 9-33). Republican Catholicism differed as much from the so-called "Catholic Enlightenment" as the American Revolution from the French. In the sense that he was inspired as well by Locke as by Aquinas, Carroll was "enlightened."

There are a few inaccuracies. Carroll's age (born 1736 not 1735) and year of ordination (1761 not 1769) continue to be misrepresented (see *Catholic Historical Review*, 71 (1985): 505-13). Augustine Jenkins and Henry Pile were Maryland- not English-born (p. 57). These lapses, however, detract little from a generally accurate, well written, and well argued work. While its principal value is to question the degree to which the word "Enlightenment" may be applied to the Carroll church, it also throws new light on the republican piety that that church exemplified. An appendix provides seven sermons that afford a better feel for the age than any description of it.

THOMAS W. SPALDING, C.F.X.
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Neither Ballots Nor Bullets: Women Abolitionists and the Civil War. By Wendy Hamand Venet. (The Nation Divided: New Studies in Civil War History. Charlottesville and London: University Press of Virginia, 1991. Pp. xii, 210. Abbreviations, notes, essay on sources, index. \$25.)

While the heroism of the Southern woman during the Civil War is legendary, the role of the Northern woman during the same period has not even been thoroughly researched let alone totally appreciated. So, by tracking the various careers, some intertwining and others not, of about a dozen women abolitionists, Eastern Illinois University professor Wendy Hamand Venet is attempting to compensate for some of that neglect. Cameo portraits of eight of these women encircle the title on the dust jacket: Julia Ward Howe, Emma Webb, Susan B. Anthony, Anna Dickinson, Sarah Parker Remond, Lydia Maria Child, Fanny Kemble, and Elizabeth Cady Stanton.

The book begins with a history of women's involvement in the abolition movement as far back as the 1820s, proceeds through the Emancipation Proclamation—by no means the culmination of their hopes and dreams—and ends with a final chapter on the postwar women's movement, when some of its more radical members bitterly resented that woman suffrage had not accompanied the Fourteenth Amendment.

Back in 1833 Lydia Maria Child, already a prolific writer of children's literature and self-help books, shocked her readers by classing African slaves as Americans in an abolition tract. Embellished by engravings of plantation atrocities, her tract also took aim at complacent Northerners who spoke of the "lamentable necessity" of slavery. Readers, both North and South, retaliated by ostracizing her. Years later in 1859, Child tried to visit John Brown in prison as he awaited execution, and her correspondence with Virginia governor Henry Wise on the subject, published by the Anti-Slavery Society, had a circulation of more than 300,000 copies. But as the war neared and her talents were needed more than ever, she lost much of her enthusiasm for the abolitionist cause and allowed younger women to bear her torch.

Songwriter Julia Ward Howe, who viewed the war as a just punishment to the nation for its sin and invoked a vengeful Creator to bring renewal through emancipation, and novelist Harriet Beecher Stowe, whose abolitionist writings subsequent to *Uncle Tom's Cabin* were particularly influential in England, are among the few Northern Civil War-era women whose achievements are adequately recognized today.

Like Harriet Beecher Stowe, Fanny Kemble used her pen to further the cause of abolitionism. An Englishwoman married briefly to a Southern slaveowner, she decided in the latter half of 1862 to publish her long-dormant *Journal of a Residence on a Georgian Plantation in 1838–1839*. Many exaggerated claims have been made for the efficacy this work had on the British reading public, yet the fact that it was a testimonial by a native Briton gave it an inestimable advantage of credibility. Also influential in England was public speaker Sarah Parker Remond. The Mas-

sachusetts-born daughter of prosperous free black parents, she sailed in 1859 for Great Britain, where eloquence combined with the novelty of her race and gender won her large and enthusiastic crowds.

An even greater novelty was the fiery orator Anna Dickinson. Only in her twenties and looking childish with her short stature and shoulder length curls, she earned the moniker of "Abolition's Joan of Arc." Born to Quaker parents in Pennsylvania, she lost her father at the age of two when he died suddenly, after himself delivering a rousing anti-slavery oration. Forced by her father's death to seek employment outside the home, she had a rapport with working-class audiences that set her apart from other abolition speakers. Although she was an inspiring speaker, her speeches were sadly lacking in intellectual content. She lambasted Gen. George B. McClellan, voiced her doubts about Lincoln because he paid too much attention to his advisors from the border states, and naively believed that emancipation would bring the war to a speedy close.

But Venet's major focus in this study deals with the newly formed (1863) Woman's National Loyal League, which with the help of activists Elizabeth Cady Stanton and Susan B. Anthony, collected a staggering 100,000 signatures on a petition seeking a constitutional amendment abolishing slavery. Although Civil War-era women were not allowed to vote, they were allowed to petition, and so the Loyal League was able to galvanize women who would otherwise not have been able to influence congressional legislation. The petition itself was glued together and sent in bundles to Charles Sumner, who presented them periodically to Congress during the winter, spring, and summer of 1864. Then in January of 1865 the House finally passed the Thirteenth Amendment, abolishing slavery, and this was ratified by the end of the same year. A state-by-state analysis of the signatures reveals that New York furnished the largest number with the president's home state of Illinois following in second place. Maryland with 165 signatures (115 men and 50 women) is low on the list behind West Virginia with 182 signatures but ahead of Kansas, Delaware, Nebraska and Kentucky.

Much attention in this book is devoted to the strategic 1864 election. Very few women abolitionists favored the reelection of Abraham Lincoln. Elizabeth Cady Stanton and Susan B. Anthony refused to endorse him even after the withdrawal of fellow-Republican John C. Fremont from the race. It is to the author's credit that she pursues subsequent changes of heart among the women concerning Lincoln: a third of a century later Elizabeth Cady Stanton sincerely regretted how she had worked and prayed in 1864 for the defeat of Lincoln, and Julia Ward Howe looking back over the years wrote, "None of us knew then—how could we have known?—how deeply God's wisdom had touched and inspired that devout and patient soul" (p. 96). Yet abolitionist dissatisfaction with Lincoln survived even the assassination. Although shocked and distressed, the sexagenarian Lydia Child wondered if the elimination of kind-hearted Abraham would not also eliminate the fatal error of making too easy terms with the rebels.

In conclusion, let it be said that Venet's account of these women abolitionists is somewhat hard to follow as it jumps back and forth from activities and movements

to individual careers. The women get unequal coverage. Sarah Parker Remond, who is the only black woman examined here and whose portrait adorns the dust jacket, is mentioned on only four pages. Emma Webb's cameo portrait should not be used at all on the dust jacket because she was not an abolitionist. The waspishly antislavery rhetoric of Pennsylvania-born Jane Grey Swisshelm is alluded to in passing only once in the entire book. But it is difficult to write an equitable history treating the political involvement of a minority, and Venet has cogently demonstrated her thesis—how the war provided a forum for these women and how it opened the way for their careers as postwar feminists. But most of all, her work insightfully places the significance of their efforts in precise historical perspective for the enjoyment and edification of the general reading public.

JACK SHREVE

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"God Ordained This War": Sermons on the Sectional Conflict, 1830–1865. Edited by David B. Chesebrough. (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1991. Pp. x, 360. Bibliography, notes, index. \$34.95.)

In his second inaugural address, as he reflected on the coming of the Civil War, Abraham Lincoln noted that Northerners and Southerners had read the same Bible and prayed to the same God. Lincoln recognized in 1864 a problem that has gone relatively unaddressed in Civil War historiography: how religion, a pervasive and centripetal element in antebellum American culture, inflamed the sectional controversy over slavery. This collection of Northern and Southern sermons from the Civil War era will provide historians with the primary sources necessary to examine the role religion played in the dissolution of the Union. These sermons demonstrate, in the words of editor David B. Chesebrough, "how greatly preachers contributed to the war spirit that turned Americans against each other in the mid-nineteenth century" (p. 1).

Evenly balanced between North and South, this anthology contains such prominent voices of nineteenth-century American Protestantism as Northerners Theodore Parker, Henry Ward Beecher, and Horace Bushnell. Important if lesser-known Southern clergymen like James Henley Thornwell, Benjamin M. Palmer, and Charles Colcock Jones are included as well. The sermons in this collection are arranged both topically and chronologically. They cover the issues of slavery, sectionalism, the Civil War, and the Lost Cause. The editor's brief introductions to each section provide solid and informed background to the sermons. Especially valuable to scholars is an annotated bibliography of three hundred sermons delivered during the Civil War years. The inclusion of a Northern proslavery sermon would have been a welcome addition to this anthology. As the editor recognizes in one of his introductions, there was a significant difference of opinion over slavery which divided the Northern clergy on the eve of the Civil War.

Several themes emerge from a close reading of these sermons. Individually and collectively they suggest a complex and problematic relationship between religion

and the coming of the Civil War. These sermons reveal first the close similarities in thought between Northern and Southern clergymen. Ministers in each section shared the deeply held belief that God directed the course of secular events and they accepted the hardships of war as signs of Divine Judgment. Northern and Southern clerics alike relied on the tenets of moral philosophy and searched the Old Testament for historical parallels. The sermons of New Englander Horace Bushnell and James H. Thornwell of South Carolina are particularly revealing of the intellectual affinities between Northern and Southern clergymen. Both ministers probed deeply the sectional controversy for fundamental principles of government and morality. Both set forth a conservative, organic, and implicitly anti-democratic social philosophy, and both accepted the coercive power of the state.

Secondly, the sermons in this collection simultaneously illustrate the ways in which the slavery controversy both reflected and exacerbated an ideological divergence between the sections. For instance, the Transcendentalist minister Theodore Parker emphasized the distinction between men and their positions. Thornwell, on the other hand, argued for a more particularistic view of human relations which bound masters and slaves in a hierarchy of rights and duties. Finally, these sermons suggest the tensions and ambiguities imbedded within the ideology of each section. Southern ministers like Thornwell and Charles Colcock Jones recognized the essential humanity of the slave, a doctrine with disturbing implications for a society dedicated to the preservation of slavery. Among the Northern clergy, a deep ideological split can be seen in the sermons of Bushnell and Parker. While Parker embodied the radical individualism characteristic of New England reformers, Bushnell reflected a conservative organicism which gained prominence in the North during the Civil War.

David B. Chesebrough has collected and edited an important set of documents that will be of value to students of nineteenth-century American religion and the sectional controversy. More importantly, this book should be a clarion call for historians to bring religion back to the central place it occupied in the coming of the Civil War.

MITCHELL SNAY
Denison University

Fallen Leaves: The Civil War Letters of Major Henry Livermore Abbott. Edited by Robert Garth Scott. (Kent, Ohio: Kent State University Press, 1991. Pp. xiv, 266. Appendix, notes, index. \$27.)

If this were not the splendid collection of letters that it is, the book is worth reading for the remarkable, capsulized study of the War Between the States contained in the introduction and the conclusion. Scott has done an excellent analysis and short history in these few pages. His editing and footnoting are excellent. Abbott's letters are very well written and are the letters of a well-educated person, which of course he was. Harvard educated, from a prominent New

England family, he was one of three brothers who enlisted (with commissions from the state) early in the war. Enlisting and serving with him was Oliver Wendell Holmes. Abbott admired Holmes—and despised Holmes's father.

The letters are well worth reading for three reasons: the social scene, the political environment, and military life. On the social portions of the letters, the close family ties are evident. Abbott remembered his younger siblings whenever he sent his pay home; he worried about his father overworking; he wrote his aunt, advised his sister, and asked his mother for news. Politically, the letters are revealing. Abbott entered the service out of patriotism for his state, and to a lesser extent, preservation of the Union. He avidly disliked abolitionists, Sen. Charles Sumner particularly, felt their interference hurt the "morale" of the army, and received news of the Emancipation Proclamation "with disgust."

But it is the letters Abbott wrote dealing with military life that are the most controversial to an old World War II soldier, and interesting. He wrote of troop movements and objectives, of unit strengths and battle losses. He gave vivid battle reports and did not fail to criticize his superior officers. He had a particular dislike for Burnside, and his description of the Fredericksburg fiasco is insubordinate. Only his competence and bravery kept him from more than the single disciplinary action leveled against him. All the letters flow with praise for McClellan and deride the man he refers to as "Abe." Had any or some of his letters been intercepted by the South, they would have brought more aid and comfort to General Lee than the order wrapped around the cigars brought McClellan just before Antietam. So well researched are the letters, that one has no trouble identifying individuals, even without the full names, from the footnotes.

All the letters are colorful, yet some stand out above the rest. His letter to his sister describing the looting at Fredericksburg removes some of the luster surrounding a loyal New Englander. His letter to his brother (p. 220) is beautiful and shows his love of family. Another letter casts doubts on the value of colored troops. A letter to his father on learning of the death of his older brother, Ned, and his visit to the Cedar Mountain battlefield to search for the place where Ned fell, are moving and sad. In one letter (pp. 159–60) he described his attempt to send a letter or go himself under a flag of truce to see an old Harvard friend, now Lt. Lane Brandon of the 21st Mississippi, who had written to Abbott's father.

The book is necessary to a well rounded Civil War library. It also should be of great interest to us who have served in last fifty years of our nation's wars. I shudder to think what punishment would have been meted out for divulging the detailed information that Abbott gave out in his letters. But when we read of the death of this brave officer, who for the last time recklessly exposed himself rallying his troops in one of the Wilderness bloodbaths, it is sad to contemplate that such a valuable life (among others) was thrown away in this, the bloodiest of our wars. He was an outstanding soldier, and one who warms the hearts of Marylanders and Baltimoreans by referring to Ben Butler as "Beast."

ARTHUR J. GUTMAN
Baltimore, Maryland

Struggle for the Shenandoah: Essays on the 1864 Valley Campaign. Edited by Gary W. Gallagher. (Kent, Ohio, and London: Kent State University Press, 1991. Pp. x, 137. Illustrations, bibliographic note, index. \$18.50 cloth, \$9.95 paper.)

The geography of the Shenandoah Valley determined its strategic importance during the Civil War and ensured that it would be a major theater of operations for both armies. For the South, the Valley was a natural avenue of attack. For the North, control of the Valley was necessary to blunt these threats, threaten Richmond and central Virginia from its western flank, and deny the Confederacy Shenandoah foodstuffs. In 1862 Jackson ran wild in the Valley, driving out Union forces and ensuring the Confederacy's use of the Shenandoah as the staging ground for Lee's invasions of the North in 1862 and 1863. In 1864 the Valley again became a battleground after Jubal Early, in an attempt to relieve the pressure Grant was applying on Petersburg and Richmond, attacked the northwestern suburbs of Washington. This provoked the Union into making the Valley a strategic objective, and in August 1864 Union forces in the area were unified under the command of Philip Sheridan.

Sheridan was given the mission of, first, ensuring that no further Confederate incursions occurred (not least because such invasions threatened already shaky Republican chances in the upcoming election) and, second, attacking up the Valley to defeat Early and gain control of the Shenandoah. After an initial period of shadow boxing to shield Washington, "Little Phil" went on the offensive, defeating Early's forces at a series of engagements culminating in the Battle of Cedar Creek, which marked the end of Confederate military resistance. Sheridan thereupon took the war to the farms of the Valley, burning crops and fields, driving off livestock, and destroying storehouses, all in an effort to deprive the Confederacy of its granary. In this, as in other aspects, the Civil War was a harbinger of the total wars of the twentieth century.

Struggle for the Shenandoah contains five essays originally given as conference papers. Gary W. Gallagher provides a useful overview of the strategic importance of the Valley. Jeffrey D. Wert and A. Wilson Greene assess the leadership of the Confederate and Union commands, concluding that neither Early nor Sheridan was impeccable, that Early probably has received too much criticism simply because he was defeated, and that Sheridan's reputation was inflated simply because he won. Neither was especially distinguished as a tactician. Robert K. Krick dissects the woeful performance of the Confederate cavalry, the reasons for which range from the structural (the army's inability to resupply mounts made the cavalry reluctant to fight) to the personal (Early hated cavalymen). Dennis E. Frye discusses Confederate raider John S. Mosby's guerilla campaign and establishes the marginality, however flamboyant, of such detached operations in a total war.

Like most published conference papers, these essays do not really cohere. Rather they are best considered as forays into aspects of the 1864 Shenandoah campaign. And as part of the long tradition of histories of the battles and leaders of the Civil War these essays are almost less significant for what they say than for what they

represent: America's continuing need to reassess—to the point of almost refighting—the war. Until the advent of an American Homer or Virgil we must depend on historians to keep the war alive.

DAVID C. WARD
Smithsonian Institution

In Their Own Interests: Race, Class, and Power in Twentieth-Century Norfolk Virginia. By Earl Lewis. (Berkeley, Los Angeles, and Oxford: University of California Press, 1991. Pp. xv, 270. Foreword, acknowledgments, illustrations, maps, tables, notes, bibliographic essay, index. \$34.95.)

This is a significant work in urban, black, labor, and twentieth-century Southern history. Rather than moving from rural society in the Deep South to urban ghettos in the North and West, as writers more typically have, Earl Lewis, who grew up in Norfolk, takes an approach that permits a finely-grained study of a sizeable Southern city in which black residents always constituted a large minority. Tracking black life in Virginia's port city on the Chesapeake from the 1860s to the 1960s, Lewis emphasizes the years 1910–45. He employs such quantitative sources as census data and labor reports, as well as such literary materials as Works Progress Administration (Virginia Writers' Project) narratives from the 1930s and his own interviews to portray Norfolk's black residents both "at work and at home" (p. 4). By "home" he means the household, to be sure, but also the community. Rather than comprising only the private world of individual affairs, it deals, too, with a public world that includes such municipal services as schools, roads, and parks.

Social historians in recent years, following Charles Tilly in particular, have pursued as a strategic theme the connections between individual lives and such larger changes as urban growth and industrial development. Lewis insists that race has constituted a powerful intervening variable. Other groups in early twentieth-century American cities, he points out, were "ethnics at home" but "workers at work" (p. 5). Black Americans, by contrast, could not escape being treated as racial ethnics at work. They thus worked to build up their churches, struggled to obtain parks or schools for their children, or opted for "conscious inaction" rather than "purposeful agitation" (p. 2).

To delineate the main changes in those strategies, Lewis divides the years 1910–45 into three periods: the 1910s and 1920s, the Depression years, and World War II. Briefly during World War I, Norfolk blacks perceived individual advancement at work as a means to promote their collective betterment, but as a rule such a strategy failed to strike them as a promising option. Given the racist environment that segregation epitomized and that white workers and white employers alike embodied, blacks sought solace at home. During the 1930s, by contrast, interracial labor politics, whether led by the Communist party or the Congress of Industrial Organizations, suggested a vision in which blacks, like whites, might be "workers at work." And in the early 1940s, "Afro-Americans discovered that they could

promote workplace improvements and pursue interracial alliances without abandoning their assault on Jim Crow" (p. 168).

Increasingly, they "could be workers at work and blacks at home" (p. 198). And yet, having gone on to adopt an assault on segregation as the dominant strategy, they found that the occupational structure itself had changed, and material gains remained elusive. Racial barriers declined in the 1960s, not the 1910s, so the partial achievement of having become "workers at work" failed to bring the full benefits, individual or collective, that had so long been sought. Lewis offers an eloquent analysis of the strategic choices, and of the gains and losses, in black America from the aftermath of the Civil War to the aftermath of the civil rights movement.

PETER WALLENSTEIN

Virginia Polytechnic Institute and State University

To Every Thing a Season: Shibe Park and Urban Philadelphia, 1909–1976. By Bruce Kuklick. (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1991. Pp. xiii, 237. Notes, index, photographs. \$19.95.)

Baltimore Orioles fans lamenting the team's departure from Memorial Stadium, or Baltimore residents sick of maudlin recollections of the stadium's past, might gain perspective by reading Bruce Kuklick's history of another abandoned ballpark. His study of Philadelphia's Shibe Park is not a misty memoir written by a nostalgic fan, nor is it yet another sentimental attempt by an intellectual to explain baseball's appeal in philosophical terms. Rather, Kuklick's is the first book to place a stadium within a broad context of sports stories, social analysis, and urban history.

Kuklick, a cultural historian at the University of Pennsylvania, does not eschew the kind of recollections that fill most popular sports histories. In fact, he is most interested in the way Shibe Park and its games had an impact on the consciousness of the spectators, the players, and the neighborhood residents. As he moves briskly through the story of Shibe Park, from its construction in 1909 by sporting goods magnate Ben Shibe to its decrepitude and demolition in the 1970s, he lingers over those people and events which most helped to shape that consciousness—the Philadelphia Athletics' dramatic victory over the New York Giants in 1911; the mannerisms and player maneuvering of the laconic A's manager, Connie Mack; the "spite fence" built by the team to block the rooftop view of neighborhood residents; the boyish enthusiasms of the wealthy owner of the Phillies, Bob Carpenter and the troubled Phillies career of black star Dick Allen.

Beyond these portrayals, which are of interest to any sports fan, but perhaps of greatest appeal to a follower of Philadelphia's teams, Kuklick makes fairly extensive but unobtrusive use of urban historical analysis to discuss developments in and around the park. He concisely summarizes the work of sports historians on the rise of baseball and its relation to urban capitalism. He also makes a significant contribution of his own to sports history, discussing how Connie Mack attempted to "fine-tune" his team's success in order to produce good but not great teams, on

the theory that excessive winning led to high payrolls and bored fans. In addition, Kuklick uses the insights of urbanists and immigration historians to discuss the changing economy and politics of Philadelphia and the evolution of Shibe Park's North Philadelphia neighborhood. It is upon this analysis that the book makes its claim for broader attention among readers who are not vitally interested in sports. Unfortunately, it is here where the book is slightly disappointing. Kuklick's erudition and depth of research are never in doubt, and his depiction of the stadium within its neighborhood is quite vivid. But the book's glimpses of a broader Philadelphia are ultimately too brief to establish Shibe Park as a political, social and economic institution affecting the city as a whole.

A book such as this one must please many audiences, however, and for the most part Kuklick does an adequate job in balancing local interest, sports anecdotes, and urban history. What makes this book worth reading even for a non-historian is Kuklick's acute sense of exactly how a public place such as Shibe Park gets infused with personal memories. These memories can create an affectionate esteem for even an ugly concrete pile, but recollections fade or become muddled, and affections dwindle as the concrete crumbles. Kuklick's last chapter, discussing this process, answers those who criticize the fickle nature of public memory. His valedictory on Shibe Park anticipates the day when Baltimore fans will confuse Frank with Brooks Robinson, the Colts with the Broncos, and Memorial Stadium with Memorial Coliseum.

JEFFREY CHARLES
North Central College

Notices

W. REID THOMPSON APPOINTED TO HISTORIC ST. MARY'S CITY COMMISSION

Gov. William Donald Schaefer has appointed W. Reid Thompson as the newest member of the Historic St. Mary's Commission, an agency of the Maryland Department of Housing and Community Development. Mr. Thompson is chairman of the board of Potomac Electric Power Company.

EVENTS AT HISTORIC ST. MARY'S CITY

Experience a hands-on opportunity to be an archaeologist for a day during the Tidewater Archaeology Weekend, 1 and 2 August, from 10 A.M. to 5 P.M. Excavations will be centered at the St. Maries Chapel site.

Maritime Heritage Weekend will occur on 19 and 20 September, 11 A.M. to 5 P.M. There will be sea chantey music and demonstrations of maritime crafts as well as a special children's activity area for the "Half-Shell Sailor."

GRAND OPENING OF THE WARD MUSEUM OF WILDFOWL ART

The Ward Museum celebrates the opening of its exhibition galleries at its new museum on Schumaker Drive in Salisbury, Maryland. The inaugural exhibit, "Art LaMay: The Eastern Shore Influence," showcases the works of one of America's most celebrated wildfowl artists. For more information call 410-742-4988.

EVENTS AT THE HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF TALBOT COUNTY

Until 14 June, the Historical Society of Talbot County will present "The Romance of the Double Wedding Ring Quilts," the Robert Bishop Collection from the American Museum of Folk Art. "Kings, Queens, and Soup Tureens," an exhibition of eighteenth- and nineteenth-century tureens from the Campbell Museum in Camden, New Jersey, will be on view from 10 September to 25 October. Please call the society for more information at 410-822-0773.

RESEARCH STIPENDS AND FELLOWSHIPS

The Cushwa Center for the Study of American Catholicism at the University of Notre Dame, offers three \$5,000 research stipends for the summer of 1993 for study of the history of U.S. Hispanic Catholics. Recipients need not be historians; deadline for application is 15 December 1992. The center is also offering three \$12,000 dissertation fellowships in the history of U.S. Hispanic Catholics for the academic year 1993-94. Application deadline is 1 January 1993.

For more information and application forms contact Dr. Jaime R. Vidal, Cushwa Center for the Study of American Catholicism, 614 Hesburgh Library, Notre Dame, IN 46556.

RIVER HOUSE DESIGNER SHOWCASE

The Historical Society of Kent County is sponsoring a River House Designer Showcase during the month of June. River House, located on Chestertown's picturesque Water Street, was constructed circa 1784 for the Smyth family, wealthy landowners and shipping merchants of Kent County. The Maryland Historical Trust restored the house's exterior to its original 1784-87 appearance and is now offering it for sale. River House will be open from 30 May to 30 June. Hours are Monday through Saturday, 10 A.M. to 4 P.M.; Sunday, 1 to 5 P.M. Tickets are \$10.00 per person and \$9.00 per person for group rates. All proceeds will be used to publish an architectural history of Kent County. For more information call 410-778-3499.

NEW MARKET DAYS

The 33rd annual New Market Days will be held on the streets of historic New Market, Maryland on 25, 26, and 27 September 1992 from 10 A.M.-5 P.M. daily. The town will again celebrate its nineteenth-century heritage with a festival of food, crafts, entertainment, and antiques at over thirty shops. Free admission. For details, write Box 91, New Market, MD 21774.

AUTHOR QUERY

For a biographical study of the Reverend Noble Cilley Powell (1891-1968), anyone with letters, publications, anecdotes, reminiscences, good material of any kind or anyone who can provide insights or useful information. Noble Powell was Episcopal bishop of Maryland from 1943 to 1963. Earlier he served as rector of St. Paul's Memorial Church, Charlottesville, VA (1920-31), rector of Emmanuel Church, Baltimore (1931-37), dean of the Washington Cathedral and warden of the College of Preachers (1937-41), and bishop coadjutor (1941-63). Please send any information to David Hein, Department of Religion and Philosophy, Hood College, Frederick, MD 21701 or call (Office) 301-696-3435; (Home) 301-695-5246.

SEARCH FOR *PORT TOBACCO TIMES*

Anyone who knows where issues of the *Port Tobacco Times* may be found, especially for the Civil War years, please contact Roberta J. Wearmouth, Box 296, Port Tobacco, MD 20677; 301-934-8827

GENEALOGICAL NOTE CORRECTS SEWALL FAMILY HISTORY

Mr. Carson Gibb of Annapolis, Maryland, has located information that clears up an error apparently unchallenged for more than thirty years. The *Maryland Historical Magazine*, 53 (1958): 100, asserts that Basil Sewell of Talbot County, Maryland, (will probated 1802) was the son of William Sewall, son of Maj. Nicholas Sewall. In fact, Basil was the unbaptized son born on 20 December 1741 mentioned in the will of James Sewall (or Sawell) of Calvert County, Maryland, executed on 24 May 1743 and proved on 18 July 1749 (Wills 27: 28 Maryland State Archives). Mary, James's widow and administratrix, married, by 18 May 1757, Benjamin Hunt of Calvert County (Inventories 41: 163; Accounts 41: 124, *ibid.*), who died by 20 August 1773 when his personal estate was appraised (Inventories 121: 51, *ibid.*), leaving Mary, once again, widow and administratrix. Her account of his estate includes payments to James's four sons: Capt. William Sawall, John Sawall, James Sewall, and Bassel Suvall (Accounts 72: 297, *ibid.*). James was the son of James (will proved 22 May 1702; see Wills 11: 193, *ibid.*), who was the son of John (will proved 23 October 1677; see Wills 5: 316, *ibid.*).

Evidence confirms that Basil of Talbot County and Basil of James were the same. Two deeds of gift from Edward Elliot of Talbot County—one made 11 September 1766 to his daughter, Dorothy Elliot, the other made 27 November 1767 to his daughter, Dorothy Snell, wife of Basil Snell (Talbot County Land Records 19: 406 and 463, *ibid.*)—imply that Basil and Dorothy were married in 1766 or 1767, when Basil of James was twenty-five or twenty-six. Basil and Dorothy named their son William Elliot, evidently after Dorothy's brother, and a deed of 5 May 1807 identifies him as her only heir (Talbot County Land Records 32: 175, *ibid.*). Basil named his second son James. He made his will on 18 November 1801, and it was proved on 28 September, when Basil of James was almost sixty-one years old (Talbot County Wills JP5: 475, *ibid.*).

Picture Puzzle

This Picture Puzzle relates to a dramatic occurrence in Maryland history. What event does the photograph capture? Please give the date and the town shown in the image. Send your answers to:

Picture Puzzle
Prints and Photographs Department
Maryland Historical Society
201 W. Monument St.
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The spring 1992 Picture Puzzle shows the northwest corner of Howard and Baltimore streets in Baltimore around 1915. Little Joe Wiesenfeld's sporting goods store is at the corner, and the Howard Hotel is to its right. The warehouse of the Baltimore Bargain House is shown at the far right. A Howard Street addition to Little Joe's had been built by 1914. All the buildings still stand under different managements.

The following persons correctly identified the winter 1992 Picture Puzzle: Carlos P. Avery, William Hollifield, Thomas R. Holmes, Sr., Raymond and Percy Martin, Albert L. Morris, John Riggs Orrick, Wayne R. Schaumburg, and Gladys Stavey.



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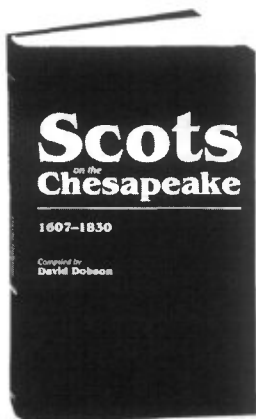
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Compiled by David Dobson

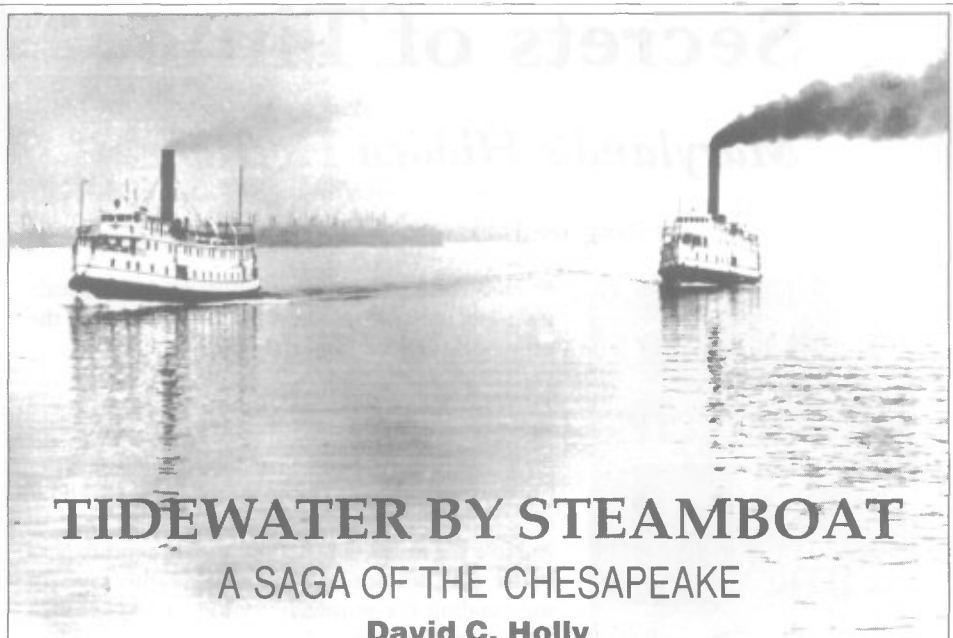


Brings together all available references to Scots in Virginia and Maryland from sources scattered throughout Great Britain and North America. The result is an exhaustive list of several thousand Scots including, where known, details of birth, marriage, and death, occupation, age, date of emigration, place of settlement, and family relationships.

169 pp., cloth. 1992. **\$20.00** plus \$2.50 postage and handling. Maryland residents add 5% sales tax; Michigan residents add 4% sales tax.

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David C. Holly

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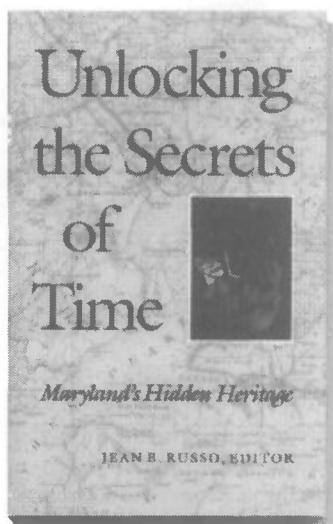
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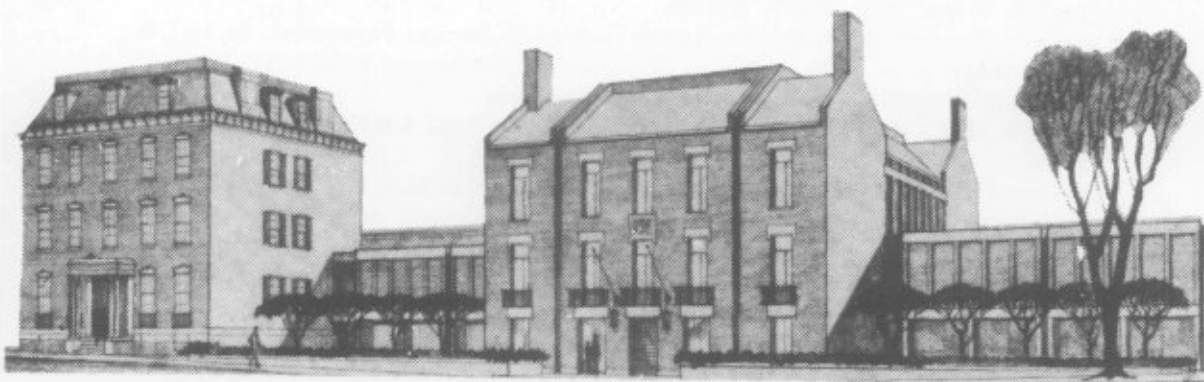
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